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ARIES
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Dan Webster

63

THE

WORKS

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

IN EIGHT BOOKS

OF THE LAWS OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY:

WITH

SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES,

AND

A GENERAL INDEX.

ALSO, A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY ISAAC WALTON.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. CLARKE, NEW BOND STREET; W. BAYNES AND SON, PATERNOSTER ROW; PRIESTLEY AND WEALE, HIGH STREET, BLOOMSBURY; R. BAYNES, IVY LANE; E. EDWARDS, NEWGATE STREET; T. & J. ALLMAN, PRINCES STREET, HANOVER SQUARE; J. OFFER, NEWGATE STREET: ALSO, DEIGHTON AND SONS; AND R. NEWBY, CAMBRIDGE.

1821.

LENOX LIBRARY
NEW YORK

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

CHARLES II.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

ALTHOUGH I know how little leisure great kings have to read large books, or indeed any, save only God's (the study, belief, and obedience of which are precisely commanded, even to kings (Deut. xvii. 18, 19), and from which, whatever wholly diverts them, will hazard to damn them; there being no affairs of so great importance, as their serving God, and saving their own souls; nor any precepts so wise, just, holy, and safe, as those of the Divine oracles; nor any empire so glorious, as that by which kings, being subject to God's law, have dominion over themselves, and so best deserve and exercise it over their subjects):

Yet having lived to see the wonderful and happy restoration of your Majesty to your rightful kingdoms and of this reformed church to its just rights, primitive order, and pristine constitution, by your Majesty's prudent care and unparalleled bounty, I know not what to present more worthy of your Majesty's acceptance and my duty, than these elaborate and seasonable works of the famous and prudent Mr. Richard Hooker, now augmented, and I hope completed, with the three last books, so much desired, and so long concealed.

The publishing of which volume so entire, and thus presenting it to your Majesty, seem to be a blessing and honour reserved by God's providence, to add a farther lustre to your Majesty's glorious name, and happy reign, whose transcendant favour, justice, merit, and munificence, to the long-afflicted church of England, is a subject no less worthy of admiration than gratitude to all posterity. And of all things (next God's grace) not to be abused or turned into wantonness by any of your Majesty's clergy, who are highly obliged, beyond all other subjects, to piety, loyalty, and industry.

I shall need nothing more to ingratiate this incomparable piece to your Majesty's acceptance, and all the English world's, than those high commendations it hath ever had, as from all prudent,

peaceable, and impartial readers, so especially from your Majesty's royal father, who, a few days before he was crowned with martyrdom, recommended to his dearest children the diligent reading of Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, even next the Bible; as an excellent means to settle them in the truth of religion, and in the peace of this church, as much Christian, and as well reformed as any under heaven: as if God had reserved this signal honour to be done by the best of kings, and greatest sufferers for this church, to him who was one of the best writers and ablest defenders of it.

To this completed edition, is added such particular accounts as could be got of the Author's person, education, temper, manners, fortunes, life, and death, which are now done with much exactness and proportion: that hereby your Majesty, and all the world, may see what sort of men are fittest for church-work (which, like the building of Solomon's temple, is best carried on with most evenness of judgment, and least noise of passion). Also, what manner of man he was, to whom we all owe this noble work, and durable defence.

Which is indeed at once (as the tongues of eloquent princes are to themselves and their subjects) both a treasury and an armoury, to enrich their friends, and defend them against the church of England: a rare composition of unpassionate reason, and impartial religion; the mature product of a judicious scholar, a loyal subject, an humble preacher, and a most eloquent writer: the very abstract and quintessence of laws human and Divine; a summary of the grounds, rules, and proportions, of true polity in church and state: upon which clear, solid, and safe foundations, the good order, peace, and government, of this church were anciently settled, and on which, while it stands firm, it will be flourishing: all other popular and specious pretensions being found by late sad experiences, to be as novel and unfit, so factious and fallacious, yea, dangerous and destructive to the peace and prosperity of this church and kingdom, whose inseparable happiness and interests are bound up in monarchy and episcopacy.

The politic and visible managing of both which, God hath now graciously restored and committed to your Majesty's sovereign wisdom and authority, after the many and long tragedies suffered from those club-masters and tub-ministers, who sought not fairly to obtain reformation of what might seem amiss, but violently and wholly to overthrow the ancient and goodly fabric of this church and kingdom. For finding themselves not able in many years to answer this one book, long ago written in defence of the truth, order, government, authority, and liberty (in things indifferent), of this reformed church, agreeable to right reason and true religion (which make this well-tempered piece, a file capable to break

the teeth of any that venture to bite it); they conspired at last to betake themselves to arms, to kindle those horrid fires of civil wars, which this wise Author foresaw and foretold in his admirable preface would follow those sparks and that smoke which he saw rise in his days: so that from impertinent disputes (seconded with scurrilous pamphlets) they fled to tumults, sedition, rebellion, sacrilege, parricide, yea, regicide; counsels, weapons, and practices, certainly no way becoming the hearts and hands of Christian subjects, nor ever sanctified by Christ for his service, or his church's good.

What now remains, but your Majesty's perfecting and preserving that (in this church) which you have with much prudence and tenderness so happily begun and prosecuted, with more zeal than the establishment of your own throne. The still crazy church of England, together with this book (its great and impregnable shield), do farther need, and humbly implore, your Majesty's royal protection under God: nor can your Majesty, by any generous instance and perseverance (most worthy of a Christian king) more express that pious and grateful sense which God and all good men expect from your Majesty, as some retribution for his many miraculous mercies to yourself, than in a wise, speedy, and happy settling, of our religious peace; with the least grievance, and most satisfaction to all your good subjects; sacred order and uniformity being the centre and circumference of our civil tranquillity; sedition naturally rising out of schism, and rebellion out of faction: the only cure and antidote against both, are good laws and canons, first wisely made, with all Christian moderation and seasonable charity; next, duly executed with justice and impartiality; which sober severity is indeed the greatest charity to the public; whose verity, unity, sanctity, and solemnity, in religious concernments, being once duly established, must not be shaken, or sacrificed to any private varieties and extravagances. Where the internals of doctrine, morality, mysterious and evangelical duties, being (as they are in the church of England) sound and sacred, the externals of decent forms, circumstances, rites, and ceremonies, being subordinate and servient to the main, cannot be either evil or unsafe, neither offensive to God nor good Christians.

For the attaining of which blessed ends of piety and peace, that the sacred sun and shield of the Divine grace and power directing and protecting, may ever shine upon your Majesty's person and family, counsels and power, is the humble prayer of

Your sacred Majesty's

Most loyal subject, and devoted servant,

JOH. EXON.

TO

THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Master Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Master Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business, and want of time, made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given), I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify; for though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions; yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader; I shall rather leave him at liberty: but if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Master Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And, to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) endeavours may become a better monument, and in some degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Master Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder, that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellences of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself, that I have been persuaded to it; and, indeed, I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my Introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

A

COPY OF A LETTER

WRITTEN TO MR. WALTON,

BY DR. KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

HONEST ISAAC,

THOUGH a familiarity of forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to those very many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection, of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books; but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend, Dr. Donne, late dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent sermons of his which are now made public; professing before Dr. Winniff, Dr. Montford, and I think yourself, then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain; but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that, beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales, of Eton-college) affirmed to me, he had not seen

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learned Dr. John Spencer, who after the death of Mr. Hooker was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi-college, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers, many of which were imperfect; for his study had been rifled or worse used by Mr. Chark, and another of principles too like his: but as these papers were, they were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend, Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, authorizing Dr. John Barkham (his Lordship's chaplain) to require and bring them to him to Lambeth; at which time I have heard they were put into the Bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud, and were then by the brethren of that faction given with the library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the church's confusion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought; which was, to subject the sovereign power to the people. I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James for his death; the value our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now the singular character of his worth given by you in the passages of his life (especially in your Appendix to it), do sufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Robert Stapleton, Pope Clement the Eighth, and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books, having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy. Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of your's, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends also), who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence, added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books; one of their letters I herewith send you to make use of, if you think fit. And let me say farther, you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviv-

ing monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid; but especially his translation of King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, into elegant Latin: which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and conclave sent unto Franciscus Suares to Salamanca (he then residing there as president of that college), with a command to answer it. When he had perfected the work (which he calls Defensio Fidei Catholicæ), it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who, according to their custom, blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest, commonly coupling together *deponere et occidere*, the deposing and killing of princes; which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkell (his amanuensis, when he wrote at Salamanca; but since a convert, living long in my father's house) often professed the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkell magnified much) not only disavowed but detested. Not to trouble you farther, your reader (if, according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will find many just reasons to thank you for it; and for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

SIR,

Your ever faithful and affectionate old friend,

HENRY CHICHESTER.

Chichester, Nov. 12, 16.

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded by a friend, that I ought to obey, to write the life of Richard Hooker, the happy Author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness, foreseeing that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, consider, research, and determine, what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death (now sixty-four years past), but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of, what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I consider the age in which I live), and shall therefore but entreat of my reader a suspension of them, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now fain believe, do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now in the seventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God), grand nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution: with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker, in Corpus Christi-college, in Oxford, and after president of the same I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse; as also their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testi-

mony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Cambden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two forenamed sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's Born, near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had (I say) a great part of their education with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabition with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him: as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Doctor Usher, the late learned archbishop of Armagh; and with Doctor Morton; the late learned and charitable bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eton-college; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE LIFE.

His birth and youth.

It is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter: a city which may justly boast that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our redemption one thousand five hundred fifty and three, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony; and that Nature is not so partial as

always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow, even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but a gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a schoolboy, he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature; and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed Divine light, and therefore to consider him to a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God; of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered, with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man: which with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar), was very solicitous with John Hooker, then chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college; still urging and assuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promise was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after bishop of Salisbury) having been in the first of this Queen's reign expelled out of Corpus Christi-college in Oxford (of which he was a fellow), for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward the Sixth; and he having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made bishop of Salisbury: and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it; John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes. And though the Bishop knew men do not usually look

with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place; which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the Bishop gave the schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi-college; which he did; and Doctor Cole had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Doctor John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

Admitted into Corpus Christi-college, Oxon.

Bp. Jewel, his patron.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months: all which time, his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God as the mother of St. Augustine did, that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard, as to be granted: which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; whom, he would often say, he loved so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her sake as for his own.

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him: and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath car-

ried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, Whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven?

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Mr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, that he should neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmost of his hopes), for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, or not much longer; for about that time the following accident did befal Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (then bishop of London, and after archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for many years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship as time did not blot out, but lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was one thousand five hundred seventy and one. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi-college, in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was then almost of the same age: for the Bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall be of the last, and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the

man, into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the Bishop did so about twelve months after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made: for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the university; and had, by a constant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted study, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many), but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel-prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burden of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word; and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a Divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of, looseness in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till death; still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was chosen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonshire (out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes). And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scho-

lars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation. The first, famous by his learned Apology for the Church of England, and his Defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart, of the Roman persuasion, about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and for his other treatises: all such as hath given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all.

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's Grace was given him for inceptor of arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of noted learning, being then vice-chancellor, and the act following he was completed master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year vice-chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savil, of Merton-college, then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savil that was after Sir Henry Savil, warden of Merton-college, and provost of Eton: he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savil that translated and enlightened the History of Cornelius Tacitus with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and a most familiar friend, to our Richard Hooker, and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was chosen fellow of the college: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were afterward successively made presidents of his college: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his Speculum Europæ as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Master Camden, the Lord Tottenes, Fines Morrison, and others.

"This Cranmer, whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hope, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus Christi-college in Oxford, where he continued master of arts for many years before he removed, and then betook himself to travel accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return, he betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison: after whose fall, he went in place of secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his embassage into France; and after his death he was sought after by the most noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained, until, in a battle against the rebels near Charlinford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in a university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. In this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: and, as the holy prophet saith, "so they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends." By which means they improved it to such a degree of amity, as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave Mr. Hooker to his college: were he was daily more assiduous in his studies, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these; so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which he seemed to be assisted by the same Spirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, maketh him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, "The Scripture was not writ to beget pride and disputations, and opposition to government; but moderation, and cha-

rity, and humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in mankind; of which no good man did ever repent himself upon his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three or more years; about which time he entered into sacred orders, and was made both deacon and priest; and not long after, in obedience to the college statutes, he was to preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford, or at St. Paul's Cross, London, and the last fell to his allotment.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunammite's house; which is a house so called, for that besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition: which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man: I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and wheather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no easier a horse (supposing the horse trotted when he did not); and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days' quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given to him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, "that in God there were two wills; an antecedent and a consequent will: his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but his second will was, that those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and had been since by Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who

believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare: but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occasional answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, "that he was a man of a tender constitution; and, that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, because he meant none; did give her such power as Eleazar was trusted with, when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or the year following. Now the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion: and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Soloman compared to a dripping-house; so that he had no reason to rejoice in the wife of his youth but rather to say with the holy prophet, "Woe is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us consider that the prophet Ezekiel says, "There is a wheel within a wheel;" a secret sacred wheel of Providence, (especially in marriages), guided by his hand, that allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise, nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to such reasons) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, and (as some think) to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for affliction is a Divine diet; which though it be unpleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter physic to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a coun-

try parsonage; which was Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire (not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocess of Lincoln); to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq. (then patron of it), the 9th of December 1584, where he behaved himself so, as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering; yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Drayton to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace), he being then tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his servant was then gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and, by other such-like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and seek themselves a quieter lodging. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage: and more sorry your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

Made master of the Temple.

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then bishop of London, and after archbishop of York), with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585,[a] Mr. Alvey (master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain such a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him,

[a] He was dead, and the place void in the month of August, anno 1584. J. S.

that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvey. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvey, the Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the judges, the reader and benchers of that society, he met there with a condolement for the death of Father Alvey, a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Archbishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvey's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton-Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might be free from noise (so he expressed the desire of his heart), and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the Bishop's proposal; and was by patent for life made master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585,[a] he being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Endeavours for Travers to be master of the Temple. J.S.

[But before any mention was made of Mr. Hooker for this place two other divines were nominated to succeed Alvey; whereof Mr. Walter Travers, a disciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by Alvey himself on his death-bed, to be master after him: and no marvel, for Alvey's and Travers's principles did somewhat correspond. And many gentlemen of the house desired him; which desire the Lord Treasurer Burghley was privy to, and by their request, and his own inclination towards him, being a good preacher, he moved the Queen to allow of him; for the disposal of the place was in her. But Archbishop Whitgift knew the man and his hot temper and principles, from the time he was fellow of Trinity college, and had observed his steps ever after: he knew how turbulently he had carried himself at the college, how he had disowned the English established church and episcopacy, and went to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp to be ordained minister, as he was by Villers and Cartwright, and others the heads of a congregation there; and so came back again more confirmed for the discipline.

[a] This you may find in the Temple records. Will. Ermstead was master of the Temple at the dissolution of the priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvey, bat. divinity, pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. *Magister sive custos domûs et ecclesiæ novi Templi*; died 27 Eliz.—Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, *in terminis*, as Alvey had it, and he left it at 33 Eliz.—That year Dr. Belgey succeeded Rich. Hooker.

And knowing how much the doctrine and converse of the master to be placed here would influence the gentlemen, and their influence and authority prevail in all parts of the realm where their habitations and estates were, that careful prelate made it his endeavour to stop Travers's coming in; and had a learned man in his view, and of principles more conformable and agreeable to the church, namely, one Dr. Bond, the Queen's chaplain, and well known to her. She well understanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the Archbishop what Travers was, by a letter he timely writ to her Majesty upon the vacancy, gave particular order to the Treasurer to discourse with the Archbishop about it.

Opposed by the Archbishop.

The Lord Treasurer hereupon, in a letter, consulted with the said Achbishop, and mentioned Travers to him, as one desired by many of the house. But the Archbishop, in his answer, plainly signified to his Lordship, that he judged him altogether unfit, for the reasons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the Queen Dr. Bond, as a very fit person. But, however, she declined him, fearing his bodily strength to perform the duty of the place, as she did Travers for other causes. And by laying both aside, she avoided giving disgust to either of those great men. This Dr. Bond seems to be that Dr. Nicholas Bond that afterwards was president of Magdalen-college, Oxon, and was much abused by Martin Mar-prelate.

These particulars I have collected from a letter of the Archbishop to the Queen, and other letters that passed between the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer about this affair, while the mastership was vacant. The passages whereof, taken verbatim out of their said letters, may deserve here to be specified for the satisfaction of the readers.

And first, in the month of August, upon the death of the former master, the Archbishop wrote this letter unto the Queen:—

The Archbishop to the Queen concerning the vacancy of the Temple.

"It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that the mastership of the Temple is vacant by the death of Mr. Alvey. The living is not great, yet doth it require a learned, discreet, and wise man, in respect of the company there: who, being well directed and taught, may do much good elsewhere in the commonwealth, as otherwise also they may do much harm. And because I hear there is suit made to your Highness for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty to signify unto your Majesty, that the said Travers hath been, and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissension in this church, a contemner of the Book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this church of England used. Whose placing in that room, especially by your Majesty, would

greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.

"Your Majesty hath a chaplain of your own, Dr. Bond, a man in my opinion very fit for that office, and willing also to take pains therein, if it shall please your Highness to bestow it upon him. Which I refer to your own most gracious disposition: beseeching Almighty God long to bless, prosper, and preserve your Majesty to his glory, and all our comforts,

"Your Majesty's most faithful Servant and Chaplain

"Jo. CANTUAR."

From Croydon, the day of August, 1584.

Next, in a letter of the Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer, dated from Lambeth, Sept. 14, 1584, he hath these words:

The Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer.

"I beseech your Lordship to help such a one to the mastership of the Temple, as is known to be conformable to the laws and orders established; and a defender, not a depraver, of the present state and government. He that now readeth there is nothing less, as I of mine own knowledge and experience can testify. Dr. Bond is desirous of it, and I know not a fitter man."

The Lord Treasurer, in a letter to the Archbishop, dated from Oatlands (where the Queen now was), Sept. 17, 1584, thus wrote:—

The Lord Treasurer to the Archbishop.

"The Queen hath asked me what I thought of Travers to be master of the Temple. Whereunto I answered, that at the request of Dr. Alvey in his sickness, and a number of honest gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my allowance of him to the place, so as he would shew himself conformable to the orders of the church. Whereunto I was informed, that he would so be. But her Majesty told me that your Grace did not so allow of him. Which, I said, might be for some things supposed to be written by him (in a book) entituled, De Disciplina Ecclesiastica. Whereupon her Majesty commanded me to write to your Grace, to know your opinion, which I pray your Grace to signify unto her, as God shall move you. Surely it were great pity, that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary; for he is well learned, very honest, and well allowed, and loved of the generality of that house. Mr. Bond told me, that your Grace liked well of him; and so do I also, as of one well learned and honest; but, as I told him, if he came not to the place with some applause of the company, he shall be weary thereof. And yet I commended him unto her Majesty, if Travers should not have it.

"But her Majesty thinks him not fit for that place, because of his infirmities. Thus wishing your Grace assistance of God's Spirit to govern your charge unblameable.

"Your Grace's to command,

"WILL. BURGHLEY."

From the Court at Oatlands, the 27th Sept. 1584.

Part of the Archbishop's letter in answer to this was to this tenor :—

The Archbishop in answer to the letter of the Lord Treasurer.

"Mr. Travers, whom your Lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to myself; I did elect him fellow of Trinity-college, being before rejected by Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach: whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the college to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for this pertinancy. Neither was there ever any under our government, in whom I found less submission and humility than in him. Nevertheless, if time and years have now altered that disposition (which I cannot believe, seeing yet no token thereof, but rather the contrary), I will be as ready to do him good as any friend he hath. Otherwise I cannot in duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that place, where he may do so much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howsoever some commend him to your Lordship and others, yet I think that the greater and better number of both the Temples have not so good an opinion of him. Sure I am, that divers grave, and of the best affected of them, have shewed their misliking of him to me; not only out of respect of his disorderliness in the manner of the communion, and contempt of the prayers, but also of his negligence in reading. Whose lectures, by their report, are so barren of matter, that his hearers take no commodity thereby.

"The book De Disciplina Ecclesiastica, by common opinion, hath been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof. The drift of which book is wholly against the state and government. Wherein also, among other things, he condemneth the taking and paying of first-fruits, tenths, &c. And therefore, unless he will testify his conformity by subscription, as all others do which now enter into ecclesiastical livings, and make proof unto me, that he is a minister ordered according to the laws of this church of England, as I verily believe he is not, because he forsook his place in the college upon that account, I can by no means yield my consent to the placing him there or elsewhere, in any function of this church.]

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness: that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises: for this he always

thirsted; and yet this was denied him. For his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to, and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution that had raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and these begat fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present posterity. The apprehension of which dangers begat an earnest desire of a settlement in the church and state; believing there was no other way to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begat self-ends; and those begat animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness, for those blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progress of her reign; and thus it continued too long: for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied; but were still thirsting for more and more: neglecting to pay that obedience to government, and perform those vows to God, which they made in their days of adversities and fears: so that in short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs; they may for distinction be called, the active Romanists, the restless nonconformists (of which there were many sorts), and the passive, peaceable protestant. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome: the second in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil: and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the nonconformists; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged, in a book-war; a war which he maintained, not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

Nonconformists represented.

In which number of nonconformists, though some might be sincere and well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were possessed of a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate, restless, radical pride and malice; I mean not those lesser sins which are more visible and more properly carnal, and sin against a man's self, as gluttony and drunkenness, and the like, (from which good Lord deliver us!) but sins of a higher nature; because more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace; and more like the devil (who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk; and yet is a devil): those wickednesses of malice and revenge, and opposition, and a complacence in working and beholding confusion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and greater sins, though many will not believe it): men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed to speak evil of government, and then to be the authors of confusion (of confusion as it is confusion): whom company, and conversation, and custom had blinded, and many insensible that these were errors; and at last became so restless, and so hardened in their opinions, that like those which "perished in the gainsaying of Core," so these died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses, of which Coppinger and Hacket, and their adherents, are too sad testimonies.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many others that pretended to tenderness of conscience, refusing to submit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magistrate and yet these very men did, in their secret conventicles, covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up a church-government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many select parties that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state; but especially against the bishops; by which means, together with very bold, and as indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as St. Peter observed there were in his time "some that wrested the Scripture to their own destruction;" so by these men, and this means many came to believe the bishops to be antichrist, and the only obstructors of God's discipline; and many of them were at last given over to such desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Reve-

lation of St. John, that "antichrist was to be overcome by the sword," which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that those very men, that began with tender meek petitions, proceeded to print public admonitions, and then to satirical remonstrances; and at last (having, like David, numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause), they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and, not long after, both the Queen and parliament; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; whom he used as a sacrilegious snare to farther his design, which was by their means to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almost flattered him into present possession of Lambeth-house.

And to these strange and dangerous undertakings, the nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one [a] told the Queen openly in a sermon, she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an atheist, [b] and grew to such a height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; no nor for treason against their own King, if spoken in the pulpit: shewing at last such a disobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, their church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state: and these vented so daringly, that, besides the loss of life and limbs, the church and state were both forced to use such other severities, as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would in a short time have brought unavoidable ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begat wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own coun-

[a] Mr. Dering.
[b] See Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.

try; "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished. That they were more able (or at least thought so), to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the most learned colleges in Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful. And he concluded his letter with this observation," that those very men than were most busy in oppositions and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and had so often, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of the blessed Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they had thereby sinned themselves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: into a belief, which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods); but these have sinned themselves into a belief, that there is no God; and so finding nothing in themselves, but what is worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, "that they should be like the beasts that perish;" and, in wicked company (which is the atheists's sanctuary), were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all these other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin: when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things which were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied: when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority—In this extremity, fear, and danger of the church and state, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of

prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude; they were blest in all by John Whitgift, his being made archbishop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left this true character, that he was a man of a reverend and sacred memory; and of the primitive temper, a man of such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue.

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a farther and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

Some account of Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-hall (where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor): from thence he was removed to Peter-house; from thence to be master of Pembroke-hall; and from thence to the mastership of Trinity-college. About which time the Queen made him her chaplain; and not long after prebendary of Ely, and then dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not an usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having for several years experimented his wisdom, his justice and moderation in the manage of her affairs, in both these places, she in the twenty-sixth of her reign made him archbishop of Canterbury; and, not long after, of her privy council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments, was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this Bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals) "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal[a] (his immediate predecessor), the activity of the nonconformists, and their chief

[a] Or rather by reason of his suspension and sequestration, which he lay under (together with the Queen's displeasure) for some years, when the ecclesiastical affairs were managed by certain civilians. J. S.

assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed, by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that, without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa, "Aprippa, believest thou? I know thou believest," he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him, were such, that she called him *her little black husband*, and called his servants *her servants:* and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's, and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor: of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, that she would never eat flesh in Lent, without obtaining a licence from her little black husband: and would often say, she pitied him because she trusted him, and had eased herself by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which she was certain he managed with prudence and piety.

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and his care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbishop, there passed an act or acts of parliament, intending the better preservation of church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown; and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one; and the good Bishop having by his interest with her Majesty put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Bishop made a sudden and a seasonable return to her Majesty (for he found her alone) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpose:—

His speech to the Queen.

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's and the church's safety are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God

forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger. And though you and myself are born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, madam, let me beg that you will but first consider, and then you will believe there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege; for if there were not, they could not have names in holy Writ; and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, 'He judged no man;' and, to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery; yet in this point of the church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser and the judge, and the executioner to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple; overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And consider, that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet committed sacrilege, 'Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?' supposing, I think, sacrilege to be the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider, that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider that Constantine the first Christian emperor, and Helena his mother; that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but gave them as an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them; God prevent your Majesty from being liable to that curse.

"And to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it; I beseech you, forget not, that, besides these curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved, as far as human reason and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them, by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, to maintain the church-lands, and the rights belonging to it; and this testified openly at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern

statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta. And now what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your Majesty or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently violated, I know not.

"And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lord's exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their particular errors, but let God and his church have their right; and though I pretend not to prophecy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; that church-land added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both: or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it. And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father; yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the church's rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve it.

"And consider, that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies: and when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands; yet dispose of them for Jesus's sake as the donors intended: let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise, and put a stop, I beseech you, to the approaching ruins of God's church; as you expect comfort of the last great day; for kings must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour; and the Lord still continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, her future care to preserve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begat betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other: she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many, and those powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dan-

gerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church-lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her church cares by his wise manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then most frequently with her and her assistant at her private devotions; to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed; to be present at the expiration of her last breath; and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was her chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader that he allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms'-house near to his own palace at Croydon in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth (which was very often), he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table.

And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars. Which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the Bishop's death, to say, "The Bishop had published many learned books; but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good Bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell sick at Lambeth; of which the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak:

and after some short discourse, the King assured him, "he had a great affection for him, and high value for his prudence and virtues, which were so useful for the church, that he would earnestly beg his life of God." To which he replied, *Pro ecclesia Dei, pro ecclesia Dei:* which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made archbishop in the year 1583; in which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time you may believe he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, *Vincit qui patitur;* i. e. He conquers that endures. And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the Bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was bishop, was master: in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them, and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent, long before the Earl's death (which was 1588), Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of the party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to effect it he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances (especially that called the Admonition to the Parliament). Which last he caused to be printed; to which the Doctor made an answer, and Cartwright replied upon him: and then the Doctor having rejoined to his reply (however Mr. Cartwright would not be satisfied), he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. [And to posterity he left such a learned and most useful book, as does abundantly establish the reformation and constitution of our church, and vindicate it against all the cavils of the innovators.] J. S.

After some years, the Doctor being preferred to the see, first of Worcester, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, after his share of trouble and imprisonment (for setting up new presbyteries in divers places against the established order), having received from the Archbishop many personal favours, retired himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he became master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the Archbishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation:

and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Archbishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

[It is true, the Archbishop treated Cartwright with such a civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the Earl of Leicester, how much the Archbishop's humane carriage had endeared him to him; and withal shewed his desire that he might have liberty sometimes to have access to him; professing that he would seek to persuade all with whom he had concern and converse, to keep up a union with the church of England. This, I say, is certain; but it is not so certain, that the Archbishop gave Cartwright a licence to preach. It appears that in the year 1585 he refused to grant it him, however solicited by Leicester's own letter to do it; and notwithstanding Cartwright's promises, he required more space of time to be satisfied of his conformity. For the elucidation whereof, and some farther light into this matter, let both these letters be read and considered; the former of the Earl to the Archbishop; the latter of the Archbishop to the Earl. J. S.

"My good Lord,

"I most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath so exceeding kindly taken it also, as, I assure your Grace, he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good. And he protesteth and professeth to me, to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the church: and that your Grace hath so dealt with him, as no man shall so command him and dispose of him as you shall: and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit (if your Grace so permit him), what he himself will, and would all others should do, for obedience to the laws established. And if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your Grace; whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favour and countenance towards him, with such access sometimes as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good Lord, praying to God to bless his church, and to make his servants constant and faithful, I bid your Grace farewell. The Earl of Leicester to the Archbishop concerning Mr. Cartwright.

"Your Grace's very assured friend,

"ROB. LEICESTER."

At the Court, this 14th of July.

To which letter the Archbishop returned this answer.

"My singular good Lord,

"Mr. Cartwright shall be welcome to me at all times, and using himself quietly, as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do him any good: but to grant unto him as yet my The Archbishop to the Earl.

licence to preach, without longer trial, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner; myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point by me set down to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithstanding, I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any farther public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so being bold to use my accustomed plainness with your good Lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God; this 17th of July, 1585."]

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself, and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at rest, and had been a great while, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: men that were become positive in asserting that a papist cannot be saved: insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then bishop of Peterborough), was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies; there was not only Martin Mar-Prelate, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed: books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all, who was a man of sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they. Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these titles, "An Almond for a Parrot;" "A Fig for my Godson;" "Come crack me this Nut," and the like; so that his merry wit made such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

The controversy

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvey, who was master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lec-

turer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved of by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued lecturer a part of his time: Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbyters in Antwerp, and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which be had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in this design.

between Hooker and Travers.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his endeavours to be master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved some occasion of his opposition of Mr Hooker's sermons publicly in the pulpit. Many of which were concerning the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of this church: and Mr. Hooker again publicly justified his doctrine against the other's exceptions. Insomuch, that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they. For as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "The forenoon sermons speak Canterbury, and the afternoon's Geneva."

In these sermons there was a little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversary's opinions erroneous. And thus it continued for a time, till the oppositions became so high, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching, by a positive prohibition; [and that chiefly because of his foreign ordination.] Against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majestyand her privy council to have it recalled, where he met with many assisting powerful friends; but they were not able to prevail with or against the Archbishop, whom the Queen had entrusted with all church power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party, and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so magnified by them and many others, as never to be answered: so that, intending the Bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear as publicly, and print an answer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, to have in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the Bishop began to wonder at the man, to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a

familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented (all or most of which I have seen written), would prove at least tedious: and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "that the assurance of that we believe by the word of God is not to us so certain as what which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

"First, I taught, that the things which God promises in his word are surer than that we touch, handle, or see: but are we so sure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For example, how is it that many men looking on the moon at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the same promise, have not all the same fulness of persuasion. For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense can be no surer of it than they are; when as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth has always need to labour, strive, and pray that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring, "that there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence." In which, having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it: "Comfortable (he says) as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do not persuade me, against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know I do not, believe." Mr. Hooker's own words follow: "Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless, and without belief: but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are. Do they not wish it might, and

also strive that it may be, otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think those things to be which they shew they love when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that, by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtleties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons he gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one II.
of his sermons had declared, "that he doubted not but that God was merciful to save many of our forefathers living heretofore in popish superstition, forasmuch as they sinned ignorantly:" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first (because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrow the foundation of faith) he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness are attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus (they be his own words that follow); "That, the way of nature; this, the way of grace: the end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of men's works: their righteousness, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodness of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon man as a gift: presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification: their justification not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation: their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election, a Mediator in whom to be elect: this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a Mediator."

And he also declareth, there is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ; no effectual, but his mercy; and says also, we deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul,

and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it. This belief (he declareth) is to destroy the very essence of our justification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. Yet nevertheless (and for this he was accused), considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs, have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends, by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves; because by this, or the like erroneous opinions which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, Such men are damned, there is for them no salvation! St. Austin says, *Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? Give me a pope or a cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins! Shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? if they do, wherefore should I doubt but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, "You err in your opinion, but be of good comfort, you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the best of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken.

"But it will be said, The admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation. (And, now Mr. Hooker's own words follow),

"What though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith? Although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit? Although they have all other tokens of God's children in them? Although they be far from having any proud opinion, that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? Although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them, be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? Although they be not obstinate in this opinion? Although they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were

brought sufficient to disprove it? Although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? Although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a pope or cardinal in such a case utterly from the hope of life. Surely, I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men, even when they err, my greatest comfort is, my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that, as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader; as also for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him, as, that he prayed before, and not after his sermons; that in his prayers he named bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the sacrament; and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them.

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons: to your railing I say nothing; to your reasons I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man; doubtless if Almighty God had blessed the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blessed like Jerusalem, that is at unity with itself; but that can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people with a belief, that schism is a sin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey.

J. S. The articles of false doctrines objected by Travers to Hooker.

[Before we pass from these unhappy disceptations between Hooker and Travers, as we have heard two articles of pretended false doctrine objected by the one to the other, so it is pity the rest should be wholly lost, and for ever buried in silence: therefore for the making this considerable part of the reverend man's life and history complete, and to retrieve whatsoever may be gotten of the pen and mind of so learned and judicious a person, take this far-

ther account, not only of two but of all the articles that his before-mentioned adversary had marshalled up against him, collected from a sermon or sermons he had heard him preach at the Temple; together with his endeavoured confutation of them; and likewise Hooker's own vindication of himself to each of these articles. These articles seem to have been delivered by Travers to the Lord Treasurer. The same Lord delivered them to Hooker, to consider of and to make his reply to. And of these articles the Archbishop also was privy, and briefly declared his judgment and determination of. I shall set all down exactly from an authentic manuscript.

Doctrines delivered by Mr. Hooker, as they were set down and shewed by Mr. Travers, March 30 1585, under this title:

A short note of sundry unsound points of doctrine, at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his public sermons.

1. The church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and a church sanctified by profession of that truth which God hath revealed unto us by his Son; though not a pure and perfect church.

2. The fathers which lived and died in popish superstition were saved, because they sinned ignorantly.

3. They which are of the church of Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in Christ, and a general repentance of all their sins.

4. The church of Rome holdeth all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin, though some of them think otherwise of her.

5. The church of Rome teacheth Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin.

6. The Galatians which joined with faith in Christ, circumcision, as necessary unto salvation, notwithstanding be saved.

7. Neither the church of Rome, nor the Galatians, deny the foundation directly, but only by consequent: and therefore may be saved. Or else neither the Lutherans, nor whosoever hold any error (for every error by consequent denieth the foundation), may be saved.

8. An additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that saith of any, that he is a righteous man, saith, that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he saith, he is a dead man, then he denieth him to be a man: and of this sort of [primative] additaments neither are works which are added to Christ by the church of Rome; nor circumcision, added to him by the Galatians.

9. The Galatians' case is harder than the case of the church of Rome; for they added to Christ circumcision, which God had forbidden and abolished: but that which the church of Rome addeth are works which God hath commanded.

10. No one sequel urged by the apostle against the Galatians, for joining circumcision with Christ, but may be as well enforced against the Lutherans holding ubiquity.

11. bishop or cardinal of the church of Rome, yea, the pope himself denying all other errors of popery, notwithstanding his opinion of justification by works, may be saved.

12. Predestination is not of the absolute will of God, but conditional.

13. The doings of the wicked are not of the will of God positive, but only permissive.

14. The reprobates are not rejected, but for the evil works which God did foresee they would commit.

15. The assurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not so sure, as of those which we perceive by sense.

Here follows an account, given in by Mr. Hooker himself, of what he preached March 28, 1585. *And then of what Travers in his lectures excepted thereunto. And lastly, of Hooker's reply and vindication of himself and his sermons.*

Hooker's own relation of his assertions, and vindication of them against Travers.

"I DOUBTED not but that God was merciful to thousands of our fathers, which lived in popish superstition: or that they sinned ignorantly. But we have the light of the truth.

* "Which doctrine was withstood, because we are commanded to depart out of Babylon, else we should be partakers of those plagues there denounced against such as repent not of their superstitions: which they cannot who know them not.

"I answered, that there were thousands in our days who hate sin, desiring to walk according to the will of God; and yet committing sin which they know not to be sin. I think, that they that desire forgiveness of secret sins, which they know not to be sins, and that are sorry for sins, that they know not to be sins, [such] do repent.

"It is replied, that without faith there is no repentance. Our fathers desiring mercy, did but as divers pagans; and had no true repentance.

"They thought they could not be saved by Christ, without works, as the Galatians did: and so they denied the foundation of faith.

* *Travers's own answer.*

"Salvation belongeth to the church of Christ. We may not think, that they could be capable of it, which lived in the errors held and maintained in the church of Rome, that seat of antichrist. Wherefore to his people God speaketh in this sort; 'Go out of Babylon, my people, go out of her, that you be not partaker of her sins, and that you taste not of her plagues.' The Galatians thinking that they could not be saved by Christ, except they were circumcised, did thereby exclude themselves from salvation. Christ did profit them nothing. So they which join their own works with Christ."

"I answered, although the proposition were true, that he who thinketh that he cannot be saved by Christ without works, overthroweth the foundation; yet we may persuade ourselves, that our forefathers might be saved. 1. Because many of them were ignorant of the dogmatical positions of the church of Rome. 2. Albeit they had divers positions of that church, yet it followeth not that they had this. 3. Although they did generally hold this position, yet God might be merciful unto them. No exception hath been taken against any one of those assertions. 4. I add, that albeit all those, of whom we speak, did not only hold this generally, but as the scholars of Rome hold this position now, of joining works with Christ, whether doth that position overthrow the foundation directly, or only by consequence? If it doth overthrow the foundation directly, &c. To make all plain, these points are to be handled. First, what is meant by the foundation. Secondly, what it is to deny the foundation directly. Thirdly, whether the elect may be so deceived, that they may come to this, to deny the foundation directly. Fourthly, whether the Galatians did directly deny it. Fifthly, whether the church of Rome, by joining works with Christ in the matter of salvation, do directly deny it."

I. To the first I answer: "The foundation is, that which Peter, Nathaniel, and the Samaritans confessed; and that which the apostles expressly affirm, Acts iv. 'There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.' It is, in fine, this, salvation is by Christ only. This word *only*, what doth it exclude? As when we say, this judge shall *only* determine this matter: this *only* doth not exclude all other things, besides the person of the judge; as necessary witnesses, the equity of the cause, &c. but all persons: and not all persons from being present, but from determining the cause. So when we say, salvation *only* is by Christ, we do not exclude all other things. For then how could we say, that faith were necessary? We exclude therefore, not those means whereby the benefits of Christ are applied to us; but all other persons, for working any thing for our redemption."

II. To the second point: "We are said to deny the foundation directly, when plainly and expressly we deny, that Christ only doth save. By consequence we deny the foundation, when any such thing is defended whereby it may be inferred, that Christ doth not only save."

III. To the third: "The elect of God cannot so err, that they should deny directly the foundation. For that Christ doth keep them from that extremity. And there is no salvation to such as deny the foundation directly. Therefore it is said, that they shall worship the beast, whose names are not found in the book of life. Antichrist may prevail much against them [viz. the elect], and

they may receive the sign of the beast in the same degree, but not so that they should directly deny the foundation."

IV. To the fourth: "Albeit the Galatians fell into error, yet not so that they lost salvation. If they had died before they had known the doctrine of Paul, being before deceived by those that they thought did teach the truth: what? do you think, should they have been damned? This we are taught, that such errors as are damning shall not take hold but on those that love not the truth. The Galatians had embraced the truth; and for it had suffered many things, &c. There came among them seducers, that required circumcision. They being moved with a religious fear, thought it to be the word of God, that they should be circumcised. The best of them might be brought into that opinion; and dying before they could be otherwise instructed, they may not for that be excluded from salvation. Circumcision being joined with Christ, doth only by consequence overthrow the foundation. To hold the foundation with an additament is not to deny the foundation; unless the additament be a privative. He is a just man, therefore a man: but this followeth not; he is a dead man, therefore he is a man. In the 15th chapter of the Acts they are called *credentes* [i. e. such as believed], that taught the necessity of circumcision. That name could not have been given unto them, if directly they had denied the foundation. That which the apostle doth urge against the Galatians, in respect of circumcision, may be urged against the Lutherans, in respect of their consubstantiation. But they do not directly deny the foundation. So neither did the Galatians directly deny it."

V. Lastly: "Whether doth the church of Rome directly deny the foundation, by joining Christ and works. There is a difference between the papists and the Galatians: for circumcision, which the Galatians joined with Christ, was forbidden, and taken away by Christ. But works are commanded, which the church of Rome doth join with Christ. So that thereis greater repugnancy to join circumcision with Christ, than to join works with him. But let them be equal. As the Galatians only by consequent denied the foundation, so do the papists, Zanchy, Calvin, Mornay; I need not go so far as some of these. But this I think, if the pope, or any of the cardinals, should forsake all other their corruptions, and yield up their souls, holding the foundation again but by a slender thread, and did but as it were touch the hem of Christ's garment, being that which the church of Rome doth in this point of doctrine, they may obtain mercy. For they have to deal with God, who is no captious sophister, and will not examine them in quiddities, but accept them, if they plainly hold the foundation.

"This error is my only comfort, as touching the salvation of our

fathers: I follow Mr. Martyr. I know *ignorantia non excusat in toto*, but, *in tanto*. It maketh not a fault to be no fault, but that which is a fault to be a less one."

The Archbishop's judgment of those controversies.

At length, thus did the Archbishop of Canterbury discreetly and warily correct and moderate these articles between them both.

I. Papists, living and dying papists, may notwithstanding be saved. The reason; ignorance excused them. As the apostle allegeth, 1 Tim. i. 13. "I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly."

The Archbishop's judgment.

Not papists, but our fathers. Nor they all, but many of them. Nor living and dying papists, but living in popish superstitions. Nor simply might, but might by the mercy of God be saved. Ignorance did not excuse the fault, to make it no fault: but the less their fault was, in respect of ignorance, the more hope we have, that God was merciful to them.

II. Papists hold the foundation of faith: so that they may be saved, notwithstanding their opinion of merit.

Archbishop. And papists overthrow the foundation of faith, both by their doctrine of merit, and otherwise many ways. So that if they have, as their errors deserve, I do not see how they should be saved.

III. General repentance may serve to their salvation, though they confess not their error of merit.

Archbishop. General repentance will not serve any but the faithful man. Nor him, for any sin, but for such things only as he doth not mark, nor know to be sin.

IV. The church of Rome is within the new covenant.

Archbishop. The church of Rome is not as the assemblies of Turks, Jews, and Painims.

V. The Galatians joining the law with Christ might have been saved, before they received the Epistle.

Archbishop. Of the Galatians, before they were told of their error, what letteth us to think, as of our fathers, before the church of Rome was admonished of her defection from the truth?

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers, against Mr. Hooker, were the cause of his transcribing several of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; of his Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication: and of his most learned and useful Discourse of Justification of Faith and Works; and by their transcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings have been; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his Answer to the Petition of Mr. Tra-

vers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his church-discipline; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate and sober treatise on the church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: and that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which none was ever more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might, after his death, justly say, "What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgment, dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in all wise men's eyes except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries: whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground: how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall: let those that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and therefore solicited the Archbishop for a remove, to whom he spake to this purpose, "My Lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college; yet, I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with Mr. Travers have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man: and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Holy Scripture,

and other laws, both human and Divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences shall require us. And, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the church's peace; and so as not to provoke your adversary Mr. Cartwright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine (but not mine enemy), God knows this to be my meaning. To which end, I have searched many books, and spent many thoughtful hours; and I hope, not in vain; for I write to reasonable men. But, my Lord, I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet country parsonage, where I may see God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all flesh must at the last great day give to the God of all spirits.

This is my design; and, as these are the desires of my heart, so they shall, by God's assistance, be the constant endeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore if your Grace can think me and my poor labours worthy such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun, which is a blessing I cannot hope for in this place."

About the time of this request to the Bishop, the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocess of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it: but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the death of Bishop Pierce and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it), the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to it, during the time of this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted (July 17) to be a minor prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register-book in Stationers'-hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the beforementioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs to them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of the Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in

the Church of England; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's-Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift; but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birthplace to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next, I am to tell, that at the end of these four books, there is printed this advertisement to the reader: "I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton (both Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author, that both the reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for: and after reading them, boasted to the Pope (which then was Clement the Eighth), "that though he had lately said he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now appeared a

wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of Laws and Church-Polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him;" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book: at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose; "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding: this man, indeed, deserves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-Polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow: to which the King replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction: indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or church-music, or the like, but especially of the sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men; and, I observe, there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason; and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers, and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And, though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book, the picture of a Divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake; that, as the most learned of the nation have, and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, now our gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary, Mr. Camden,[a] mentioning the death, the modesty, and

[a] In his Annals of Eliz, 1599.

other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now lord bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not), that since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know; and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning episcopacy and sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries, which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishops' superiority above the Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when, in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy (which he calls Divine, Human, and Satanical), this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents;

leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his four books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Bishop's-Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life, became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired! and alas, as our Saviour said of St. John the Baptist, "What went they out to see! a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obscure harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul: his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose a wife for him.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late

long parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who still lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness: in all which discourses, the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning: but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the long parliament, the present parson of Borne was sequestered (you may guess why), and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva: to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table for them to sit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him "cease wondering, and lock the church-door:" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys, and lock me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will say my Master Hooker was a good man, and a good scholar; and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days:" and report says, the old man went presently home and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

His holy behaviour at Bishop's-Borne.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations; his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer; his sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake; the design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake: and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety. Studying not so much for

matter (which he never wanted), as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention he would often say "was as discernible in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty."

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for the last; saying often, "That the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness and mutual kindnesses and love; because "love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities."

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any way distressed, and would often visit them unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions; and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) "He that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love, constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was, to

watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a strengthening of their graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name, insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility; making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate his virtues.

Charged with a scandal: and his innocency cleared.

This was his constant behaviour at Borne; thus, as Enoch, so he walked with God; thus did he tread in the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had heretical enemies), and which this age calls trepanning. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me: but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months: and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burden, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, "The Lord forgive them;" and, "The Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, 'Friends are born for the days of adversity.'

and such you have proved to me; and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, 'Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.' And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation, is safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me, when I yet hanged on my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord; for when false witnesses were risen up against me; when shame was ready to cover my face; when I was bowed down with a horrible dread, and went mourning all the day long; when my nights were restless, and my sleeps broken with a fear worse than death; when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies. O blessed are they that put their trust in thee; and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrows, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction; for with such sacrifices thou, O God, art well pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For, though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says, "Vengeance is mine:" and though this be said by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom, of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon: and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however he would fast and pray, that God would give them repentance and patience to undergo their punishment. And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander! and how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!"

In the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights; but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life), "That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the world the benefit of them as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions. His sickness and death.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretell him, that his years were passed away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and being answered, that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety, of the church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him, the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch, that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day fol-

lowing: which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to inquire his preent thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven; and, oh! that it might be so on earth!" After which words, he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: and though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord, shew mercy to me: for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits, who died to purchase a pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber, dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions; for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from which blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep.

And here I draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the patriarchs and apostles, the most noble army of martyrs and confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of. In the mean time, Bless, O Lord, Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent desires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation: for these are praiseworthy; these bring peace at the last! And let the labours of his life, his most excellent writings, be blessed with what he designed when he undertook them: which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy church, and good-will to mankind!

Amen, Amen.

APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE.

HAVING by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life: I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And, first, it is not to be doubted but he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth, year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1589, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument set up at the charge of Sir William Cooper in Borne-church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is said to be anno 1603, but doubtless both mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the Archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October the 26th, in anno 1600, and that it was proved the 3d of December following. And this attested also, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joan his wife his sole executrix; and that by his inventory his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping it: of which will I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more, was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his eldest daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and both dead long since. Margaret his youngest daughter was married unto Ezekiel Clark, Ba-

chelor in Divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas, in Harbledown, near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of Waldron in Sussex; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker their grandfather had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife, she was so unlike Jephthah's daughter, that she stayed not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight; but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which she would not, or could not, give any account: and I have been told, that about three months after the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her Majesty's council, concerning the disposal of those books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth; and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Chark, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen, and that she knew nothing

more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street, Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker), who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity: this Dr. Spencer, the three first books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. A fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker), with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow: but some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them; and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts dismembered into pieces: no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves, remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are: the learned will find in them some shadows of resemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace; so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and that, by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars! J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the

perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, "that her husband had made up or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, bishop of London; and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and were to be found in several places, as namely in Sir Thomas Bodley's library, in that of Dr. Andrews, late bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the Bishop of Armagh's, and in many others, and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, being much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, some time chaplain to Dr. Usher, late lord archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book called Clavi Trabales, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that in his search and examination of the said Bishop's manuscripts, he there found the three written books, which were the supposed sixth, seventh, and eighth, of Mr. Hooker's books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs; and which cause many incoherences; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of them.

"First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for, sith punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-spring, it followeth, there is, a supreme

head of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the king shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal before which they shall appear: on earth they are not accountable to any." Here, says the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death affirm to me he had seen a manuscript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or supreme governors being accountable to the people; this I will make oath that that good man attested to me.

"FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appear to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued), gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, "that nothing of his, which was not already printed, should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious king; and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because, in a discourse with the Lord Say, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books), the King replied, "they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five, that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself, but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's; and

it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer), of which this following letter may be a testimony; and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker; and is therefore added.

GEORGE CRANMER'S

LETTER

UNTO

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

FEBRUARY 1598.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written, for the most part, savoured of the disciplinary style: it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow; one man alone[a] there was to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who, in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented: wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui patitur;* for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained the world is witness, and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly de-

[a] John Whitgift, the archbishop.

cayed, their judgments begin to sway on the other side: the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outside of a house the passers-by are oftentimes deceived till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it; but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of master workmen and chief builders thereof they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived; so as now the discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head this cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about cap and surplice, but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable: the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment; in defence of them, volumes were published in English, and in Latin: yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: first, that whereas T. C. and others his great masters had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare polity, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have

been most grateful to all men, and in manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4. Contrary to their expectation that railing spirit did not only not farther, but extremely disgrace and prejudice the cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely farther to proceed.

A farther degree of outrage was in fact; certain prophets [a] did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a pease-cart, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter, "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of these men, it is meet to speak with all commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is likely to inspire if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates they were before they entered into this frantic passion? whose sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? And when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayers did they request? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge: for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand

[a] Hacket and Coppinger.

aloof off, and see the end of it, and loath to quench the spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundation have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors the reformers were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them; for if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That, because we have no church they are to sever themselves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own.

And if the former of these be true, the latter I suppose will follow: for if above all things men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the church there be no salvation; it followeth, that, if we have no church, we have no means of salvation: and therefore separation from us, in that respect, is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men so separated from the false and counterfeit church are to associate themselves unto some church; not to ours; to the popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, "that in our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation: but in the church of England, the discipline by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. *Ergo*

Again (but this reason perhaps is weak), every true church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole gospel of Christ: the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church: by which term essentially, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church. If therefore between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer

they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion (for all the premises are their own), or rather ingeniously to verse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.

What farther proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for aught I see) the most unanswerable; you may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might so be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think, that they had cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and the erection of presbyterial authority; and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is distraction; their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have affected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe; and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches, and bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly; for such is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other, in the mean time, may ecape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own, till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the *reformers*, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by their

namely, the cursed crew of atheists. This also is one of those points which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection, as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched: but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry; for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is maintained? But in the parties themselves, these two causes I conceive of atheism. 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning, whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing: which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the prophet means by the seat of scorners, nor what the apostles by foretelling of scorners to come; our own age hath verified their speech unto us; which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford, which could not be done by any other spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the promise of his coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment.

A second cause of atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; amongst which, because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part; and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself, even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal and corruptible with the body?

Against which barbarous opinion, their own atheism is a very strong argument; for were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no, not so much as to dispute against heaven and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers, are papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire, than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves; especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation? Which overreaching speech of theirs, because it is so open to advantage for the Barrowists and the papists, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did soon overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled, either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these.

1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points in controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of episcopal, erection of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them, is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained of, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose. For what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own heart's desire; if nonresidents, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders therefore presently authorized, or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming

against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present: so in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation, and accordingly, either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, "Why may not men speak against abuses?" Yes, but with desire to cure the part affected, and not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss; and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, Those very exceptions which they take, are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuse as impious, which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised; wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say this must give place, because a better may be devised; because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in device, with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered; the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged), they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the state ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the civil state: for personal faults, what can be said against the church, which may not also agree to the commonwealth? In both, statesmen have always been and will be always, men, sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses which they pretend to be in the laws themselves, when they inveigh against nonresidence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, and himself continually remaining in the south? He that hath an office, let him attend his office. When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell; what think

they of infinity of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher (*Pol.* lib. ii. cap. 9), it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions, even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in parliament, and all courts of justice, are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony; against the passover, as being ridiculous, shod, begirt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude: you may exhort the clergy, (or, what if you direct your conclusion not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both universities?) you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister, to preach Christ crucified; in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself, is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the Spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but (passions being allayed) are vain and childish. GEORGE CRANMER.

This epitaph was long since presented to the world in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cooper; who also built him a fair monument in Borne-church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

Though nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own books; yet, ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church-ceremonies he maintained: then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or, that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low,
Doth now preferred to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise;
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, Friend, sit up higher.

W. C.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS GRACE, PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND.

MOST REVEREND IN CHRIST,

The long continued and more than ordinary favour which hitherto your Grace hath been pleased to shew towards me, may justly claim at my hands some thankful acknowledgment thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the ancient received course, and conveniency of that discipline, which teacheth inferior degrees and orders in the church of God, to submit their writings to the same authority, from which their allowable dealings whatsoever, in such affairs, must receive approbation, I nothing fear but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of these my simple and mean labours, bestowed for the necessary justification of laws heretofore made questionable, because, as I take it, they were not perfectly understood: for surely, I cannot find any great cause of just complaint, that good laws have so much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To seek reformation of evil laws, is a commendable endeavour; but for us the more necessary, is a speedy redress of ourselves. We have on all sides lost much of our first fervency towards God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated ways, we have reason to exhort with St. Gregory,[a] Οπερ ἤμεν γενώμεϑα, Let us return again unto that which we sometimes were.—But touching the exchange of laws in practice with laws in device, which they say are better for the state of the church if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cause we find to conclude μένομεν ὅπερ ἐσμὲν, although we continue the same we are, the harm is not great.—The fervent reprehenders of things established by public authority are always confident and bold-spirited men. But their confidence for the most part riseth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cause they are seldom free from error. The errors

The cause of writing this general discourse.

[a] Greg. Naz.

which we seek to reform in this kind of men, are such as both received at your own hands their first wound, and from that time to this present have been proceeded in with that moderation, which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer. Wherein considering the nature and kind of these controversies, the dangerous sequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many ways we have been thereby taught wisdom, I may boldly aver concerning the first, that as the weightiest conflicts the church hath had, were those which touched the head, the person of our Saviour Christ; and the next of importance, those questions that are at this day between us and the church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the church of God; so these which have lastly sprung up from complements, rites, and ceremonies of church-actions, are in truth, for the greatest part, such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner. Which also may seem to be the cause, why divers of the reverend prelacy, and other most judicious men, have especially bestowed their pains about the matter of jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, led by your Grace's example, myself have thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth. Now, if any marvel, how a thing in itself so weak could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politic being subject as much as natural to dissolution, by divers means; there are undoubtedly more estates overthrown through diseases bred within themselves, than through violence from abroad; because our manner is always to cast a more doubtful and a more suspicious eye towards that, over which we know we have least power; and therefore, the fear of external dangers causeth forces at home to be the more united. It is to all sorts a kind of bridle, it maketh virtuous minds watchful, it holdeth contrary dispositions in suspense, and it setteth those wits on work in better things, which could else be employed in worse; whereas on the other side, domestical evils, for that we think we can master them at all times, are often permitted to run on forward, till it be too late to recall them. In the mean while the commonwealth is not only through unsoundness so far impaired, as those evils chance to prevail; but farther also, through opposition arising between the unsound parts and the sound, where each endeavoureth to draw evermore contrary ways, till destruction in the end bring the whole to ruin.

To reckon up how many causes there are, by force whereof divisions may grow in a commonwealth, is not here necessary. Such as rise from variety in matter of religion, are not only the farthest spread, because in religion all men presume themselves interested

alike, but they are also for the most part hotlier prosecuted and pursued than other strifes; forasmuch as coldness, which in other contentions may be thought to proceed from moderation, is not in these so favourably construed. The part which in this present quarrel striveth against the current and stream of laws, was a long while nothing feared, the wisest contented not to call to mind how errors have their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reason, whereupon they would seem built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is cast towards them, and proceedeth from other causes. For there are divers motives drawing men to favour mightily those opinions, wherein their persuasions are but weakly settled; and if the passions of the mind be strong, they easily sophisticate the understanding, they make it apt to believe upon very slender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where scarce any probable show appeareth.

Thus were those poor seduced creatures, Hacket and his other two adherents, whom I can neither speak or think of, but with much commiseration and pity. Thus were they trained by fair ways first, accounting their own extraordinary love to his discipline, a token of God's more than ordinary love towards them. From hence they grew to a strong conceit, that God, which had moved them to love his discipline, more than the common sort of men did, might have a purpose by their means to bring a wonderful work to pass, beyond all men's expectation, for the advancement of the throne of discipline, by some tragical execution, with the particularities whereof it was not safe for their friends to be made acquainted; of whom they did therefore but covertly demand, what they thought of extraordinary motions of the Spirit in these days, and withal request to be commended unto God by their prayers, whatsoever should be undertaken by men of God, in mere zeal to his glory, and the good of his distressed church. With this unusual and strange course they went on forward, till God, in whose heaviest worldly judgments, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden mercy, gave them over to their own inventions, and left them made in the end an example for headstrong and inconsiderate zeal, no less fearful than Achitophel for proud and irreligious wisdom. If a spark of error have thus prevailed, falling even where the wood was green and farthest off, to all men's thinking, from any inclination unto furious attempts; must not the peril thereof be greater in men whose minds are of themselves as dry fuel, apt beforehand unto tumults, seditions, and broils? But by this we see in a cause of religion, to how desperate adventures men will strain themselves for relief of their own part, having law and authority against them.

Furthermore, let not any man think, that in such divisions, either part can free itself from inconveniences, sustained not only through

a kind of truce, which virtue on both sides doth make with vice, during war between truth and error; but also, in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministered for men to purchase to themselves well-willers by the colour under which they oftentimes prosecute quarrels of envy or inveterate malice, and especially because contentions were as yet never able to prevent two evils; the one a mutual exchange of unseemly and unjust disgraces, offered by men whose tongues and passions are out of rule; the other a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by such as study how to work upon all occurrents, with most advantage in private. I deny not therefore, but that our antagonists in these controversies may peradventure have met with some, not unlike to Ithacius,[a] who mightily bending himself by all means against the heresy of Priscillian (the hatred of which one evil was all the virtue he had), became so wise in the end, that every man, careful of virtuous conversation, studious of Scripture, and given unto any abstinence in diet, was set down in his calendar of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it should be expedient to approve their soundness of faith, by a more licentious and loose behaviour. Such proctors and patrons the truth might spare; yet is not their grossness so intollerable, as, on the contrary side, the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism; the first published schedules whereof being brought to the hands of a grave and a very honourable knight, with signification given, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavoury sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer. "I am sorry you are of the mind to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own." But as these sores on all hands lie open, so the deepest wounds of the church of God have been more softly and closely given. It being perceived, that the plot of discipline did not only bend itself to reform ceremonies, but seek farther to erect a popular authority of elders, and to take away episcopal jurisdiction, together with all other ornaments and means, whereby any difference or inequality is upheld in the ecclesiastical order, towards this destructive part, they have found many helping hands, divers although peradventure not willing to be yoked with elderships, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold opposition against bishops, not without greater hurt to the course of their whole proceedings in the business of God and her Majesty's service, than otherwise much more weighty adversaries had been able by their own power to have brought to pass. Men are naturally better contented to have their commendable actions suppressed, than the contrary much divulged. And because the wits of the multitude are such, that many

[a] Sulp. Sever. Epist. Hist. Eccles.

things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being possessed with some notable either dislike or liking of any one thing whatsoever, sundry other in the mean time may escape them unperceived: therefore if men desirous to have their virtues noted, do in this respect grieve at the fame of others, whose glory obscureth and darkeneth theirs, it cannot be chosen, but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations against abuses in the church; these tunes come always most acceptable to them, whose odious and corrupt dealings in secular affairs both pass by that mean the more covertly, and, whatsoever happen, do also the least feel the scourge of vulgar imputation, which notwithstanding they most deserve. All this considered, as behoveth the sequel of duty on our part, is only that which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmless discretion, the wisdom of serpents, tempered with the innocent meekness of doves, for this world will teach them wisdom that have capacity to apprehend it. Our wisdom in this case must be such, as doth not propose to itself τὸ ἴδιον, our own particular, the partial and immoderate desire whereof poisoneth wheresoever it taketh place: but the scope and mark which we are to aim at is τὸ κοινὸν, the public and common good of all; for the easier procurement whereof, our diligence must search out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, councils, fathers, histories, the laws and practices of all churches, the mutual conference of all men's collections and observations, may afford; our industry must even anatomize every particle of that body, which we are to uphold sound; and because, be it never so true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a small thing persuadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth, that we vigilantly note and prevent by all means those evils, whereby the hearts of men are lost; which evils for the most part being personal, do arm in such sort the adversaries of God and his church against us, that if through our too much neglect and security the same should run on, soon might we feel our estate brought to those lamentable terms, whereof this hard and heavy sentence was by one of the ancients uttered upon like occasions; "Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit."[a] But the gracious providence of Almighty God hath, I trust, put these thorns of contradiction in our sides, lest that should steal upon the church in a slumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his assistance, may be turned away from us, bending thereunto ourselves with constancy, constancy in labour to do all men good, constancy in prayer unto God for all men; her especially, whose sacred power, matched with incomparable goodness of nature, hath hitherto been

[a] Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

God's most happy instrument, by him miraculously kept for works of so miraculous preservation and safety unto others: that as, "By the sword of God and Gideon," was sometime the cry of the people of Israel, so it might deservedly be at this day the joyful song of innumerable multitudes, yea, the emblem of some estates and dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confessed even with tears of thankfulness) the true inscription, style, or title, of all churches as yet standing within this realm, "By the goodness of Almighty God, and his servant Elizabeth, we are." That God, who is able to make mortality immortal, give her such future continuance as may be no less glorious unto all posterity, than the days of her regiment past have been happy unto ourselves; and for his most dear anointed's sake, grant them all prosperity, whose labours, cares, and counsels, unfeignedly are referred to her endless welfare, through his unspeakable mercy, unto whom we all owe everlasting praise. In which desire I will here rest, humbly beseeching your Grace to pardon my great boldness, and God to multiply his blessings upon them that fear his name.

Jud. vii. 20.

Your Grace's in all duty,

RICHARD HOOKER.

A

PREFACE

To them that seek (as they term it)

THE REFORMATION OF THE LAWS

AND

ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The cause and occasion of handling these things, and what might be wished in them, for

THOUGH for no other cause, yet for this; that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the church of God, established amongst us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the same. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (for in him the love which we bear unto all that would but

seem to be born of him, it is not the sea of your gall and bitterness that shall ever drown) I have no great cause to look for other, than the self-same portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding man's nature, too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly, to suffer all things for that work's sake, which we covet to perform. The wonderful zeal and fervour wherewith ye have withstood the received orders of this church, was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published books and writings peremptorily maintain) every Christian man fearing God, stand bound to join with you for the furtherance of that which ye term the Lord's discipline. Wherein I must plainly confess unto you, that before I examined your sundry declarations in that behalf, it could not settle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right-well-affected and most religiously-inclined minds, had some marvellous reasonable inducements which led them with so great earnestness that way. But when once, as near as my slender ability would serve, I had with travail and care performed that part of the apostle's advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to try all things, and was come at the length so far, that there remained only the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth, that what good is, must be held; there was in my poor understanding no remedy, but to set down this as my final resolute persuasion. Surely the present form of church-government, which the laws of this land have established, is such, as no law of God, nor reason of man, hath hitherto been alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof. Contrariwise, the other, which, instead of it, we are required to accept, is only by error and misconceit named the ordinance of Jesus Christ, no one proof as yet brought forth, whereby it may clearly appear to be so in very deed. The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your own hands; heartily beseeching you, even by the meekness of Jesus Christ, whom I trust ye love, that, as ye tender the peace and quietness of this church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath ever been the crown and glory of a Christianly-disposed mind; if your own souls, hearts, and consciences (the sound integrity whereof can but hardly stand with the refusal of truth in personal respects), be, as I doubt not but they are, things most dear and precious unto you; "Let not the faith which ye have in our Lord Jesus Christ, be blemished with partialities," regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who

whose sake so much pains is taken.

Jam. ii. 1.

bendeth himself as an adversary against the truth, which ye have already embraced, but the words of one who desireth even to embrace together with you the self-same truth, if it be the truth; and for that cause (for no other, God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burdensome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer access whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up the very bottom, how, and by whom your discipline was planted, at such time as this age we live in began to make first trial thereof.

The first establishment of new discipline by Mr. Calvin's industry in the church of Geneva; and the beginning of strife about it amongst ourselves.

2. A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading, so much as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain, *the Book of Life*, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides; till being occasioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva. Which city, the bishop and clergy thereof had a little before (as some affirm) forsaken, being of likelihood frighted with the people's sudden attempt for abolishment of popish religion, the event of which enterprise they thought it not safe for themselves to wait for in that place. At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither king, nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority or power over them, but officers chosen by the people out of themselves, to order all things with public consent. For spiritual government, they had no laws at all agreed upon, but did what the pastors of their souls, by persuasion, could win them unto. Calvin being admitted one of their preachers and a divinity reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was, that the whole estate of that church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever itself listeth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other ministers, for more countenance of the action (albeit the rest were all against it), they moved, and in the end persuaded, with much ado, the people to bind themselves by solemn oath, first, never to admit the papacy amongst them again; and, secondly, to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had agreeably to Scripture set down for that end and purpose. When these things began to be put in use, the people also (what causes moving them thereunto, themselves best know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon

the bit they had taken into their mouths, the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into a dislike with some churches near about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lack. It was the manner of those times (whether through men's desire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterprises, or else because the quickness of their occasions required present dispatch; so it was), that every particular church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of churches then being, though free within themselves, yet small common conference beforehand might have eased them of much after trouble. But a great inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the church of Rome, than the rest before had been; whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, jealousies, heart-burnings, jars, and discords, amongst them: which notwithstanding might have easily been prevented, if the orders, which each church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which rendered them unto the people as things everlasting required by the law of that Lord of lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to pass that one church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ in those things where manifest difference was between them; whereas the self-same orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspense manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference, what might be best for them afterwards to do: this, I say, hath both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves, of entering into farther consultation afterwards. Which, though never so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done they became for ever after resolute to maintain. Calvin therefore, and the other two his associaties, stiffly refusing to administer the holy communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the orders, which their solemn oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel banished the town. A few years after (such was the levity of that people), the places of one or two of their ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not irresistible earnestness been used. One of the town-ministers, that saw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in

Epist. Cal. 4. this sort," The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all crave Calvin. The next day a general convocation, they cry in like sort again all, We will have Calvin, that good and learned man, Christ's minister. This, saith he, when I undersood, I could not choose but praise God; nor was I able to judge otherwise, than that this was Luke xx. 7. the Lord's doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes; and that the stone which the builders refused was now made the head of the corner." The other two whom they had thrown out (together with Calvin) they were content should enjoy their exile. Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, his yielding unto them in one thing might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending farther unto them. For in his absence he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that albeit himself did better like of common bread to be used in the eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, than cause any trouble in the church about it. Again, they saw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad, and that, together with this fame, their infamy was spread who had so rashly and childishly ejected him. Besides it was not unlikely, but that his credit in the world might in many ways stand the poor town in great stead: as the truth is, their ministers' foreign estimation hitherto hath been the best stake in their hedge. But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home. He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them; as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience he gave them plainly to understand, that if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after: of which discipline, the main and principal parts were these. A standing ecclesiastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers; others of the people annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be judges together with them in the same court. These two sorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining of all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted. This device, I see not, how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present state of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moon-light, or howsoever, being departed, to choose in his room any other bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to

seek, that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made, that for every one minister there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastial consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find, which themselves might not be able always to remedy? Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous notwithstanding over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the ministers themselves which had stayed behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some, upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recall him to his place again, had beforehand written their letters of submission, and assured him of their allegiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken unto that public suit. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this discipline did go forward, they objected against it the example of other reformed churches, living quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefest place and countenance amongst the laity professed with greater stomach their judgments, that such a discipline was little better than popish tyranny, disguised and tendered unto them under a new form. This sort, it may be, had some fear that the filling up of the seats in the consistory with so great a number of laymen, was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might think their own sway somewhat; but when things came to trial of practice, their pastor's learning would be at all times of force to overpersuade simple men, who, knowing the time of their own presidentship to be but short, would always stand in fear of their minister's perpetual authority. And among the ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively with a kind of secret dependency and awe; so that in show, a marvellous indifferently-composed senate ecclesiastical was to govern; but in effect one only man should, as the spirit and soul of the residue, do all in all. But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so strait an issue, that of two things they must choose one: namely, whether they would, to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness dismiss him whose restitution they had in so important a manner desired, or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute, either to have it or to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore, in the end, those orders were on all sides assented unto, with no less alacrity of mind, than cities, unable to hold out longer, are wont to shew when they take conditions, such as liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow straits of advantage. Not many years were overpassed, before these twice-sworn men adventured

An. Dom. 1541.

to give their last and hottest assault to the fortress of the same discipline, childishly granting, by common consent of their whole senate, and that under their town-seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the eldership had excommunicated: farther also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same senate it should belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them; clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin, "Before (saith he) this decree take place, either my blood or banishment shall sign it." Again, two days before the communion should be celebrated, this speech was publicly to like effect: "Kill me if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy, to them whom the church hath judged despisers." Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time not to use the liberty granted him by the senate, nor to present himself in the church, till they saw somewhat farther what would ensue. After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, besides all men's expectation concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them, that because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority: "Therefore (saith he) the case so standing, as now it doth, let me use these words of the apostle unto you, 'I commend you unto God, and the word of his grace;'" and so bade them heartily adieu. It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure, caused presently the senate (for, according to their wonted manner, they still continued only constant in inconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before, till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first before they gave assent unto any order, had shewed some wit and discretion in them; but now to do it, was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin therefore dispatcheth with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities, by their good means, might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva, when the cause should be brought before them; yea, so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifica-

tions, ifs, or ands; the other, in earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein, as touching both points, was satisfied. For albeit, the said Helvetian churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless the senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: "First, after what manner, by God's commandment, according to the Scripture, and unspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised? Secondly, whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the consistory? Thirdly, what the use of their churches was to do in this case?" Answer was returned from the said churches, "That they had heard already of those consistorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly ordinances, drawing towards the prescript of the word of God: for which cause they did not think it good for the church of Geneva, by innovation, to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were." Which answer, although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Mr. Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any farther reply; inasmuch as they plainly saw, that when stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal; and so the heat of their former contentions began to slake. The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst ourselves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth, [a] "for that he saw needful these bridles were to be put in the jaws of that city." That which by wisdom he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdom compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for establishment of his discipline, seemeth more commendable than that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels: the contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love, set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpeneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvel it were, if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that Divine authority itself was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of

Epist. 166.

[a] Quod eam urbem videret omnino his frænis indigere.

Calvin was able from thence to draw by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are, which to him did seem to intimate, that all Christian churches ought to have their elderships endued with power of excommunication, and that a part of those elderships every where should be chosen out from amongst the laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your own church? We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one, his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian Religion; the other, his no-less-industrious travels for expositon of Holy Scripture, according to the same Institutions. In which two things, whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsayed; and of glory above them, if they consented. His writings, published after the question about that discipline was once begun, omit not any the least occasion of extolling the use and singular necessity thereof. Of what account the master of sentences was in the church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches, Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings; his books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by. French churches, both under others abroad, and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The church of Scotland, in erecting the fabric of their reformation, took the self-same pattern: till at length the discipline, which was at the first so weak, that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very churches, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it. To one of those churches which lived in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with divines, whose equals were not elsewhere to be found; a church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adoreth; unto this church of Heidelburgh, there cometh one who, craving leave to dispute publicly, defendeth with open disdain of their government, that to a minister, with his eldership, power is given by the law of God to excommunicate whomsoever; yea, even kings and princes themselves. Here were the seeds

sown of that controversy which sprang up between Beza and Erastus, about the matter of excommunication; whether there ought to be in all churches an eldership having power to excommunicate, and a part of that eldership to be of necessity certain, chosen out from amongst the laity for that purpose. In which disputation they have, as to me it seemeth, divided very equally the truth between them: Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication; Erastus as truly the non-necessity of lay-elders to be ministers thereof. Amongst ourselves, there was in King Edward's days some question moved, by reason of a few men's scrupulosity, touching certain things. And beyond seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary; some contenting themselves abroad, with the use of their own service-book, at home authorized before their departure out of their realm; others liking better the common prayer-book of the church of Geneva translated: those smaller contentions before began, were by this means somewhat increased. Under the happy reign of her Majesty, which now is, the greatest matter awhile contended for was the wearing the cap and surplice, till there came admonitions directed unto the high court of parliament by men who, concealing their names, thought it glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this church is found uncomformable to the platform of Geneva. Concerning the defender of which admonitions, all that I mean to say is but this: there will come a time, when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward, than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit. But the manner of men's writings must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth: as the followers of the same defender do think he hath; and in that persuasion they follow him, no otherwise than himself doth Calvin, Beza, and others, with the like persuasion that they in this cause had the truth. We being as fully persuaded otherwise, it resteth, that some kind of trial be used to find out which part is in error.

By what means so many of the people are trained unto the liking of that discipline.

3. The first mean whereby nature teacheth men to judge good from evil, as well in laws as in other things, is the force of their own discretion. Hereunto therefore St. Paul referreth oftentimes in his own speech, to be considered of by them that heard him. "I speak as to them which have understanding, judge ye what I say." Again afterward, "Judge in yourselves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered?" The exercise of this kind of judgment, our Saviour requireth in the Jews. In them of Berea the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, whatsoever we do, if our own secret judgment consent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is sin, although the thing itself be allowable. St. Paul's

1 Cor. x. 13. xi. 13. Luke xii. 56, 57. Acts xvii. 11.

om. xiv. 5. rule therefore generally is, "Let every man in his own mind be fully persuaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth." Some things are so familiar and plain, that truth from falsehood, and good from evil, is most easily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely unto all men's salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause St. Augustine acknowledgeth, that they are not only set down, but also plainly set down in Scripture; so that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficulty understand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Christian men: which, because they are more obscure, more intricate, and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the study of things Divine, to the end that in these more doubtful cases, their understanding might be a light to direct others. "If the understanding power or faculty of the soul be (saith the grand physician[a]) like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharpness in all; what can be more convenient than that, even as the dark-sighted man is directed by the clear about things visible; so likewise in matters of deeper discourse, the wise in heart doth shew the simple where his way lieth?" In our doubtful cases of law what man is there, who seeth not how requisite it is, that professors of skill in that faculty be our directors? so it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And
Mal. ii. 7. even in this kind likewise, the Lord hath himself appointed, that the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and that other men should seek the truth at his mouth, because he is a messenger of the Lord
Matt. x. 4. of hosts. Gregory Nazianzen, offended at the people's too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them, to whom in such cases they should rather have submitted their own, seeketh by earnest entreaty to stay them within their bounds. "Presume not, ye that are sheep, to make yourselves guides of them that should guide you; neither seek ye to overslip the fold which they about you have pitched. It sufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame yourselves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge yourselves, nor to make them subject to your laws, who should be a law to you; for God is not a God of sedition and confusion, but of order and of peace."[b] But ye will say, that if the guides of the people be blind, the common sort of men must not close up their own eyes,
Mal. ii. 9. and be led by the conduct of such: if the priest be partial in the law, the flock must not therefore depart from the ways of sincere truth, and in simplicity yield to be followers of him for his place' sake and office over them. Which thing, though in itself most

[a] Galen. de opt. docen. gen.
[b] Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua se excusat.

true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak; because the matter wherein ye think that ye see and imagine that your ways are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar sort among you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause, wherein they are so resolute, but to the trial of it a great deal more appertaineth than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves thoroughly instructed, and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the apostles' sentence against evil-speakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. Jude 10. 2 Pet. ii. 2. If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of[a] civil policy (with a desire of bringing in some other kind than that under which they already live, for of such disputes, I take it, his meaning was); if it be a thing confessed, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashness, inasmuch as a great part of them consisteth in special circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the world, why they should better judge what kind of regiment ecclesiastical is the fittest? For in the civil state more insight, and in those affairs more experience, a great deal, must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your discipline, and commend it unto the highest, not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, "that with whom the truth is, they know not," they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof? Weigh what doth move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons, which for your several opinions are alleged, is a thing whereof the multitude never did, nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain general inducements are used to make saleable your cause in gross: and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialities will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds. The method of winning people's affections unto a general liking of the cause (for so ye term it) hath been this. First, In the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holiness, to such constant reprovers of sin, as by likelihood would never be so much offended at that which is evil, unless themselves were singularly good. The next thing hereunto is,

The author of the petition directed to her Majesty, p. 3.

[a] Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xx. §. 8.

to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established. Wherein, as before by reproving faults, they purchased unto themselves, with the multitude, a name to be virtuous; so by finding out this kind of cause, they obtain to be judged wise above others; whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish government, which the Lord himself (they all confess) did establish, with like show of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth; as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical (whereof also God himself, though in another sort, is author), the stains and blemishes found in our state; which, springing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or less, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end, complained of, what form of government soever take place. Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of church-government, as the only sovereign remedy of all evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazedness of their minds, possessed with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine, that any thing (the virtue whereof they hear commended) would help them; but that most which they least have tried. The fourth degree of inducements, is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld, as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave essence and being to the works of nature; a thing in reason impossible, which notwithstanding, through their misfashioned preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God. When they of the family of love have it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signify any one person, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be raised, is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality: and that when separation of them which have it, from them which have it not, is here made, this is judgment: howplainly do they imagine, that the Scripture every where speaketh in the favour of that sect? And assuredly, the very cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to think they even see how the word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled, and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an

elder doth signify a layman, admitted only to the office of rule or government in the church; a doctor, one which may only teach, and neither preach nor administer the sacraments; a deacon, one which hath the charge of the alms-box, and of nothing else: that the sceptre, the rod, the throne, and kingdom of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors, and deacons; that by mystical resemblance, Mount Sion and Jerusalem are the churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the churches which oppugn, the said form of regiment. And in like sort, they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the city and temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to foresignify, what the authors of admonitions to the parliament, of supplications to the council, of petitions to her Majesty, and of such other-like writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their cause. From hence they proceed to a higher point, which is the persuading of men credulous and over capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern them not. Dearly beloved, saith St. John, give not credit unto every spirit. There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending itself unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special Divine excellency, revelation; the other, reason. If the Spirit by such revelation have discoursed unto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even men, women, and children) prophets: or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; forasmuch as persuasions grounded upon reason are either weaker or stronger, according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them, from the greatest to the least, be able for every several article to shew some special reason, as strong as their persuasion therein is earnest: otherwise how can it be, but that some other sinews there are, from which that overplus of strength in persuasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deal, than (for the most part) sound believers in the maintenance of truth, apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yieldeth: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of discipline, more dark and doubtful, frameth correspondently that inward assent which God's most gracious Spirit worketh by it, as by his effectual instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their persuasion, but the soundness of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their

1 John iv. 1.

opinions in these things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost,
Thess. ii. and not by the fraud of that evil spirit which is even in his illusions strong. After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their persuasions concerning discipline; then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit, leading men into this opinion, doth thereby seal them to be God's children; and that as the state of the times now standeth, the most special token to know them that are God's own from others, is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of separation between such and the rest of the world; whereby the one sort are named the brethren, the godly, and so forth; the other, worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men, not of God, with such-like. From hence they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline: this maketh them eager to take and seek all occasions of secret conference with such: this maketh them glad to use such as counsellors and directors in all their dealings, which are of weight, as contracts, testaments, and the like: this maketh them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and to think that they are like unto Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themselves, for such men's sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it, which poor beguiled souls will not do through so powerful incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath been bestowed to win and retain towards this cause, them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex. And
im. iii. 6. although not "women laden with sins," as the apostle Saint Paul speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness, be otherwise edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of sin and evil, by such as enter into their houses, with purpose to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of discipline; yet some occasion is hereby ministered for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered, did gain by the soundness of proof whereupon it doth build itself, it would not most busily endeavour to prevail, where least ability of judgment is; and therefore that this so eminent industry in making proselytes more of that sex than of the other, groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the cause. Apter they are through the eagerness of their affection, that maketh them, which way soever they take, diligent in

drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends, and allies, the same way: apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness than in men, to be bountiful towards their preachers, who suffer want: apter through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren: finally, apter through a singular delight which they take, in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected, as concerning the same cause. But be they women, or be they men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to persuade them, they close up their ears, his reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of John, "We are of God; he that know- 1 John iv.
eth God heareth us:" and as for the rest, ye are of the world; for 6.
this world's pomp and vanity it is that ye speak, and the world, whose ye are, heareth you. Which cloak sitteth no less fit on the back of their cause than of the anabaptists; when the dignity, authority, and honour, of God's magistrates are upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters; their answer is, "God hath chosen the simple." Convince them of 1 Cor. i.
folly, and that so plainly that very children upbraid them with it; 27.
they have their bucklers of like defence: "Christ's own apostle was accounted mad: the best men evermore, by the sentence of the world, have been judged to be out of their right minds."[a] When instruction doth them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully-tempered severity, they fasten on the herd of the Lord's vicegerents here on earth, whatsoever they any where find uttered against the cruelty of blood-thirsty men; and to themselves they draw all the sentences which Scripture hath in the favour of innocency persecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings no less proud, than those ancient disturbers, to whom Saint Augustine writeth, saying, "Martyrs, rightly so named, Aug. Epist.
are they not which suffer for their disorder, and for the ungodly 50.
breach they have made of Christian unity; but which for righteousness' sake are persecuted. For Agar also suffered persecution at the hands of Sarah; wherein she which did impose was holy, and she unrighteous which did bear the burden. In like sort with the thieves was the Lord himself crucified, but they who were matched in the pain which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings disjoined. If that must needs be the true church which doth endure persecution, and not that which persecuteth, let them ask of the apostle what church Sarah did represent, when she held her maid in affliction. For even our mother which is free, the heavenly Jerusalem,

[a] Acts. xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. We fools thought his life madness. Merc. Trid. ad Æsculap. Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς· μεμηνέναι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. cap. 16.

that is to say, the true church of God, was, as he doth affirm, prefigured in that very woman by whom the bondmaid was so sharply handled. Although, if all things be thoroughly scanned, she did in truth more persecute Sarah by proud resistance, than Sarah her by severity of punishment." These are the paths wherein ye have walked, that are of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that school: a custom of inuring your years with reproof of faults, especially in your governors; and use to attribute those faults to the kind or spiritual regiment under which ye live; boldness in warranting the force of their discipline, for the care of all such evil; as light of framing your conceits to imagine, that Scripture every where favoureth that discipline; persuasion that the cause why ye find it in Scripture, is the illumination of the Spirit; that the same Spirit is a seal unto you of your nearness unto God; that ye are by all means to nourish and witness it in yourselves, and to strengthen on every side your minds against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

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4. Wherefore to come unto you, whose judgment is a lantern of direction for all the rest; you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade myself) of a politic intent or purpose, but yourselves being first overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments; on your shoulders is laid the burden of upholding the cause by argument. For which purpose, sentences out of the word of God ye allege divers; but so, that when the same are discussed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his apostles in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time. Contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves has been observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed apostles were here conversant. Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the church had observed the self-same orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses wherein we might see the practice

of that, which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only; for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very apostles' times till this present age, wherein yourselves imagined ye have found out a right pattern of sound discipline, there never was any time safe to be followed; which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. Out of Egesippus, ye say that Eusebius writeth, how although as long as the apostles lived, the church did remain a pure virgin; yet after the death of the apostles, and after they were once gone, whom God vouchsafed to make hearers of the Divine wisdom with their own ears, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the church. Clement also in a certain place, to confirm that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the apostles' times, allegeth the proverb, that "there are few sons like their fathers."[a] Socrates saith of the churches of Rome and Alexandria, the most famous churches in the apostles' times, that about the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian bishops, leaving the sacred function, were degenerated to a secular rule or dominion. Hereupon ye conclude that it is not safe to fetch our government from any other than the apostles' times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing the apostles' times as a pattern for the church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefest things which lay-reformers yawn for, is, that the clergy may through conformity in state and condition, be apostolical, poor as the apostles of Christ were poor. In which one circumstance, if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that church which hath such store of mendicant friars, a church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his church, indeed, that the clergy should be left even as bare as the apostles, when they had neither staff nor scrip; that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his apostles, would, I hope, endue them with the self-same affection which was in that holy apostle, whose words concerning his own right-virtuous contentment of heart, "as well how to want, as how to abound," are a most fit episcopal impress. The church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot stand, unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the clergy, to be in meanness of state like the apostles; at the hand of the laity, to be as they were who lived under the apostles. And in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency. But your reformation, which are of the clergy (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of

T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 32.

Lib. vii. cap. 11.

Phil. iv. 12.

[a] Lib. Strom. somewhat after the beginning.

the clergy) seemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think, that he which will perfectly reform, must bring the form of church-discipline unto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certain, nor absolutely convenient. Concerning the first, what was used in the apostles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of church-polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept. Again, sith the latter, even of the apostles' own times, had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general proposing of the apostles' times there is no certainty which should be followed, especially seeing that ye give us great cause to doubt how far ye allow those times. For albeit the lovers of antichristian building were not, ye say, as then set up, yet the foundations thereof were secretly, and under the ground, laid in the apostles' times; so that all other times ye plainly reject; and the apostles' own times ye approve with marvellous great suspicion, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourselves unto the pattern of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to consider only what hath been of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemn that presently which is, and never to search upon what ground or consideration the charge might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and judgment hath enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the church, and the orders thereof, may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter,[a] the better ceremonies of religion are: howbeit, not absolutely true, and without exception; but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which, at the first, those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the apostles' times, that was harmless, which being now revived would be scandalous; as their *oscula sancta*.[b] Those feasts of charity,[c] which being instituted by the apostles, were retained in the church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man is there of understanding, unto whom it is not manifest, how the way of providing for the clergy by tithes, the de-

[a] Antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis. Arn. p. 746.

[b] Rom. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 25. 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words, "Peace be with you." For which cause, Tertullian doth call it, *signaculum orationis*, the seal of prayer. Lib. de Orat.

[c] Epist. Jud. 12. Concerning which feats, Saint Chrysostom saith, Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, et peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inibant convivium, divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem et qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis. In 1 Cor. xi. Hom. xxvii. Of the same feasts, in like sort, Tertullian. Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod est penes Græcos *dilectio*. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum. Apol. cap. 39.

vice of alms-houses for the poor, the sorting out of the people into their several parishes; together with sundry other things which the apostles' times could not have (being now established), are much more convenient and fit for the church of Christ, than if the same should be taken away for conformity's sake with the ancientest and first times? The orders therefore which were observed in the apostles' times, are not to be urged as a rule universally; either sufficient or necessary. If they be, nevertheless on your part it still remaineth to be better proved, that the form of discipline, which ye entitle apostolical, was in the apostles' time exercised. For at this very thing ye fail, even touching that which ye make most account of, as being matter of substance in discipline, I mean, the power of your lay-elders, and the difference of your doctors from the pastors in all churches. So that in sum, we may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worst; there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised. The evidence therefore of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of such learned men, as seem by their writings to be of opinion, that all Christian churches should receive your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; so there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it serve ye to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by weight; yet surely, they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest among them, with us notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of such reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture should cause the laws of the church of England to give place; much less, when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part, through a courteous inducement, have followed one man as their guide; finally, that one therein not unlikely to have swerved. If any one chance to say, it is probable that in the apostles' times there were lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the church; or to affirm, that bishops at the first were a name, but not a power distinct from presbyters; or to speak any thing in praise of those churches which are without episcopal regiment; or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that calling; all these ye register for men, persuaded as you are, that every Christian church standeth bound by the law of God to put down bishops, and in their rooms to erect an eldership so authorized as you would have it for the government of each parish. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst

the favourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed. Yet touching some material points of your discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many divines of reformed churches abroad. For, first, to do as the church of Geneva did, the learned in some other churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration; in such an exigent I see not well, how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other regiment than that which already was devised to their hands; that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one church was thus, at the first almost through a kind of constraint or necessity, followed by many, their concurrence in persuasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings. Besides, mark I beseech you that which Galen in matter of philosophy noteth;[a] for the like falleth out, even in questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with men's opinions, as with rumours and reports. That which a credible person telleth, is easily thought probable by such as are well persuaded of him: but if two, or three, or four, agree all in the same tale, they judge it then to be out of controversy, and so are many times overtaken for want of due consideration; either some common cause leading them all into error, or one man's oversight deceiving many through their too much credulity and easiness of belief. Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread itself from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony. Nor is it otherwise here, where the daughter churches do speak their mother's dialect; here, where so many sing one song, by reason that he is the guide of the choir, concerning whose deserved authority, amongst even the gravest divines, we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask, What should move so many learned to be followers of one man's judgment, no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto? your demand is answered by yourselves. Loath ye are to think that they whom ye judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of doctrine, as any since the apostles' time, should mistake in discipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not persuaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason

tion to Queen y, p. 14.

[a] Galen. clas. 2. lib. de cujusque Anim. Peccat. Notitia atque Medela.

whereof is, for that as dead flies putrefy the ointment of the apothecary, so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisdom. This in every profession hath too much authorized the judgment of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other churches, Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wisdom of that God (who setteth before us in Holy Scripture so many admirable patterns of virtue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable; to the end, that to him alone it might always be acknowledged, Thou only art holy, thou only art just) might not permit those worthy vessels of his glory, to be in some things blemished with the stain of human frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoveth. Eccles. x. 1.

5. Notwithstanding as though ye were able to say a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earnest challengers ye are of trial by some public disputation; wherein, if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the schools in universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you. They have their yearly acts and commencements, besides other disputations, both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the several parts of our own ecclesiastical discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination. The learnedest of you have been of late years noted seldom or never absent from thence, at the time of those great assemblies; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which myself have known them to grant of scholastical courtesy unto strangers), neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you. If your suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the laws that already are, should sleep and have no power over you; till in the hearing of thousands ye all did acknowldge your error, and renounce the farther prosecution of your cause; haply, they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand, do think it both dangerous to admit such concourse of divided minds, and unmeet that laws, which being once solemnly established, are to exact obedience of all men; and to constrain thereunto, should so far stoop as to hold themselves in suspense from taking any effect upon you till some disputer can persuade you to be obedient. A law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourselves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also. And were it reason, in things of this quality, to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws that have been approved, may be (no man doubteth) again revealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the authors thereof themselves: but this is when the whole doth delibe- Their calling for trial by disputation.

rate what laws each part shall observe, and not when a part refuseth the laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the cause we maintain is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any trial, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth, to condescend so far unto you in this behalf, I wish heartily that proof were made even by solemn conference in orderly and quiet sort, whether you would yourselves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others draw them to your party. Provided always, first, Inasmuch as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impose on us that which we think not ourselves bound unto, and to overthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any conference other than the pliantiff's or opponent's part, which must consist altogether in proof and confirmation of two things; the one, that our orders by you condemned we ought to abolish; the other that yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof. Secondly, Because the questions in controversy between us are many, if once we descend unto particulars; that, for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein, the most general be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in each question the prosecution of any one argument given over, and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto, by replies and answers, both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged, as well on the one side as on the other, to be the plain conclusion which they are grown unto. Thirdly, For avoiding the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal disputes are subject; as also because, if ye should singly dispute one by one, as every man's own wit did best serve, it might be conceived by the rest, that haply some other would have done more; the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then choose for your speaker, by him that which is publicly brought into disputation, be acknowledged by all your consents, not to be his allegation, but yours; such as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names; the true copy whereof being taken by a notary, that reasonable time be allowed for return of answer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, Whereas a number of conferences have been had in other causes with the less effectual success, by reason of partial and untrue reports, published afterwards unto the world; that to prevent this evil, there be at the first a solemn declaration made on both parts of their agreement, to have that very book and no other set abroad, wherein their present authorized notaries do write those things fully and only; which being written, and there read, are by their own open testimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the

choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needless speech, or to any end and purpose else, they may be thought on when occasion serveth. In this sort, to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a public action I should be loath (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them, whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to overrule), but that so venturous boldness, I see, is a thing now general; and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licensed to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp accuser.

No end of contention, without submission of both parts unto some definitive sentence.

6. What success God may give unto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell: but of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture, and experience itself, have all taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions, by submitting itself unto some judicial and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong; as for the other means without this, they seldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irksome strifes, wherein you and your followers do stand thus formally divided against the authorized guides of this church, and the rest of the people subject unto their charge; whether, I say, ye be content to refer your cause to any other higher judgment than your own, or else intend to persist, and proceed as ye have begun, till yourselves can be persuaded to condemn yourselves? If your determination be this, we can be but sorry that ye should deserve to be reckoned with such, of whom God himself pronounceth, "The way of peace they have not known." Ways of peaceable conclusion there are but these two certain, the one a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within ourselves; the other, the like kind of sentence given by a more universal authority. The former of which two ways God himself in the law prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very first Christian churches in the world to use the latter. The ordinance of God in the law was this, "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea, &c. then shalt thou arise, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose: and thou shalt come unto the priests of the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and ask, and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment; and thou shalt do according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen, shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee: according to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, shalt thou do: thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the priest (that standeth before the Lord

Rom. iii. 17.

Deut. xvii. 8.

thy God to minister there) or unto the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away evil from Israel." When there grew in the church of Christ a question, whether the gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound; after great dissension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was, to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem, which was accordingly done in a council there assembled for the same purpose. Are ye able to allege any just and sufficient cause, wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy, to have your judgments overruled by some such definitive sentence; whether it fall out to be given with or against you, that so these tedious contentions may cease? Ye will perhaps make answer, that being persuaded already as touching the truth of your cause, ye are not to hearken unto any sentence, no, not though angels should define otherwise, as the blessed apostle's own example teacheth: again, that men, yea councils, may err; and that, unless the judgment given do satisfy your minds, unless it be such as ye can by no farther argument oppugn; in a word, unless you perceive and acknowledge it yourselves consonant with God's word; to stand unto it, not allowing it, were to sin against your own consciences. But consider, I beseech you, first, as touching the apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Jesus Christ made manifest unto him, even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no possibility of error: that which perhaps you are persuaded of, ye have it no otherwise than by your own only probable collection; and therefore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouths but argue rashness. God was not ignorant, that the priests and judges, whose sentence in matters of controversy he ordained should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his understanding that sometime an erroneous sentence definitive should prevail, till the same authority perceiving such oversight, might afterwards correct or reverse it, than that strifes should have respite to grow, and not come speedily unto some end. Neither wish we, that men should do any thing which in their hearts they are persuaded they ought not to do; but this persuasion ought (we say) to be fully settled in their hearts, that in litigious and controversed causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them to do whatsoever the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine; yea, though it seem in their private opinion to swerve utterly from that which is right; as, no doubt, many times the sentence amongst the Jews did seem unto one part or other contending: and yet in this case, God *did then allow* them to do that which in their private judgment it

Acts xv.

seemed (yea, and perhaps truly seemed) that the law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion but of peace, then can he not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment to stand unto some definitive sentence; without which, almost impossible it is, that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to avoid peace. To small purpose had the council of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence, all controversy was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined. Men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of judgment finished their strife, which their disputes before judgment could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed; small hope there is, that strifes thus far prosecuted, will in short time quietly end. Now it were in vain to ask you, whether you could be content that the sentence of any court already erected, should be so far authorized, as that among the Jews established by God himself, for the determining of all controversies. "That man which will do so presumptuously, not hearkening unto the priest that standeth before the Lord to minister there, nor unto the judge, let him die." Ye have given us already to understand what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred Majesty's court of high commission; the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Jews, albeit the power be not so great. The other way haply may like you better, because Master Beza, in his last book save one,[a] written about these matters, professeth himself to be now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, insomuch as he findeth that controversies thereby are made but brawls; and therefore wisheth, "that in some common lawful assembly of churches, all these strifes may at once be decided." Shall there be in the mean while no doings? Yes. There are the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and fidelity. These things we ought to do; and these things, while we contend about less, we leave undone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find doing in these things, than disputing about doctors, elders, and deacons. Or if there be no remedy, but somewhat needs ye must do which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline, do that which wise men, who think some statute of the realm more fit to be repealed than to stand in force, are accustomed to do, before they come to parliament, where the

Matt. xxiii. 23.

[a] Præf. Tract. de Excom. Presbyt.

place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in re-examining more duly your cause, and in more thoroughly considering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equity and reason, the law of nature, God, and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against it, it is but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to observe those laws, which in their hearts they are steadfastly persuaded to be against the law of God; but your persuasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend; and in otherwise doing ye offend against God, by troubling his church without any just or necessary cause. Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of your laws; are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstrative is such, as being proposed unto any man, and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of the whole church unto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good; and therefore unto a necessary proof, that they are not good, it must give place. But if the skilfullest among you can shew, that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever set down so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable show against it might be made? It is meet, that when public things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, "I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them nought." In which case your answer will be, that concerning the laws of our church, they are only condemned in the opinion of a private man, but of thousands, yea, and even of those amongst which divers are in public charge and authority. As though when public consent of the whole hath established any thing, every man's judgment being thereunto compared, were not private, howsoever his calling be to some kind of public charge. So that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every entire society or body politic, overrule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God being author of peace, and not of confusion in the church, must needs be author of those men's peaceable resolutions, who, concerning these things, have determined with themselves to think and do as the church they are of decreeth, till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.

T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

7. Nor is mine own intent any other, in these several books of discourse, than to make it appear unto you, that for the ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer gloss than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shew, as near as I can, what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as we observe, or such as yourselves would have established; when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions, about the nature, kinds, and qualities, of laws in general; whereof, unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down, in the first place, an introduction on both sides needful to be considered; declaring therein what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kind. This done, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture; but those not for which we strive; and upon this surmise, are drawn to hold it, as the very main pillar of your whole cause. That Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions; and consequently, that the church-orders which we observe, being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant unto God; I have spent the second book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will have always a church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that church stand in need of government: of which government it behoveth himself to be both the author and teacher; so it cannot stand with duty, that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore, that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of ecclesiastical polity, the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration. The first three books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause, unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our church (for so you pretend) corrupted the right form of church-polity with manifold popish rites and ceremonies, which certain reformed churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as (you think) we ought to follow. This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our church, when ye plead, that they are the same which

The matter contained in these eight books.

the church of Rome hath, or that they are not the same which some other reformed churches have devised. Of those four books which remain, and are bestowed about the specialities of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction; the one, whether laymen, such as your governing elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power? The other, whether bishops may have that power over other pastors, and therewithal that honour which with us they have? And because, besides the power of order, which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction, which neither they all, nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of ecclesiastical dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the prince our sovereign commander over the whole body politic; the eighth book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those pre-eminences royal which thereunto appertain. Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travels, and presented under your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us, the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting-place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

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8. The case so standing therefore, my brethren, as it doth, the wisdom of governors ye must not blame, in that they, farther also forecasting the manifold strange and dangerous innovations, which are more than likely to follow, if your discipline should take place, have for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withstand your endeavours that way; the rather, for that they have seen already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof in them, who concurring with you in judgment about the necessity of that discipline, have adventured without more ado to separate themselves from the rest of the church, and to put your speculations in execution. These men's hastiness the warier sort of you doth not commend; ye wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them, in great commiseration of mind, your "poor brethren." They on the contrary side more bitterly accuse you as their false brethren; and against you they plead, saying, From your breasts it is that we

have sucked those things, which when ye delivered unto us, ye termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milk of God's word; howsoever ye now abhor as poison, that which the virtue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. Ye sometime our companions, guides, and familiars, with whom we have had most sweet consultations, are now become our professed adversaries, because we think the statute-congregations in England, to be no true Christian churches; because we have severed ourselves from them; and because without their leave or licence, that are in civil authority, we have secretly framed our own churches according to the platform of the word of God; for of that point between you and us there is no controversy. Alas! what would ye have us to do? At such time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teaching we heard, we read your writings: and though we would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeal ye have ever professed, that in the English congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according unto their own laws) the very public service of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning form, borrowed from the shop of antichrist; hateful both ways in the eyes of the Most Holy; the kind of their government, by bishops and archbishops, antichristian: that discipline which Christ hath essentially tied, that is to say, so united unto his church, that we cannot account it really to be his church which hath not in it the same discipline, that very discipline no less there despised, than in the highest throne of antichrist. All such parts of the word of God, as do any way concern that discipline, no less unsoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized English pastors, than by antichrist's factors themselves: at baptism, crossing; at the supper of the Lord, kneeling; at both, a number of other the most notorious badges of antichristian recognizance usual. Being moved with these and the like your effectual discourses, whereunto we gave most attentive ear, till they entered even into our souls, and were as fire within our bosoms; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, that sith no such antichristian synagogue may be accounted a true church of Christ, ye by accusing all congregations, ordered according to the laws of England as antichristian, did mean to condemn those congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian church. Ye tell us now, it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatenings of them, who professing themselves the inhabitants of Mount Sion, were too loath to depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durst not, we durst not continue longer so near her confines, lest her plagues might suddenly overtake us, before we did cease to be partakers with her sins; for so we could not choose but acknowledge

1 Pet. ii. 2.

Psalm lv. 13.

Pref. against Dr. Bancr.

with grief, that we were, when they doing evil, we by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like thereof; or at leastwise, not so earnestly to dislike, as became men heartily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect the discipline of Christ, without the leave of the Christian magistrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard thereby our estates and persons farther than you, which are that way more wise, think necessary: but of any offence or sin therein committed against God, with what conscience can you accuse us, when your own positions are, that the things we observe should every of them be dearer unto us than ten thousand lives; that they are the peremptory commandments of God; that no mortal man can dispense with them; and that the magistrate grievously sinneth, in not constraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for doing that of his own accord, which all men should be compelled to do, that are not willing of themselves? When God commandeth, shall we answer, that we will obey, if so be Cæsar will grant us leave? Is discipline an ecclesiastical matter, or a civil? If an ecclesiastical, it must of necessity belong to the duty of the minister; and the minister (ye say) holdeth all his authority of doing whatsoever belongeth unto the spiritual charge of the house of God, even immediately from God himself, without dependency upon any magistrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we suppose, that the hearts of the people being willing to be under the sceptre of Christ, the minister of God, into whose hands the Lord himself hath put that sceptre, is without all excuse, if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find, that hitherto greatly ye have disliked those churches abroad, where the people with direction of their godly ministers have, even against the will of the magistrate, brought in either the doctrine or discipline of Jesus Christ. For which cause we must now think the very same thing of you, which our Saviour did sometime utter concerning false-hearted scribes and pharisees, "they say, and do not." Thus the foolish Barrowist deriveth his schism by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be satisfied by you, from whom he hath sprung. And if such, by your own acknowledgment, be persons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of small and tender growth; the changes likely to ensue, throughout all states and vocations within this land, in case your desire should take place, must be thought upon. First, concerning the supreme power of the highest, they are no small prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging, the form of your discipline will constrain it to resign; as in the last book of this treatise we have shewed at large. Again, it may justly be feared, whether our English nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly suffer themselves to be always at the call, and

Matt. xxiii. 3.

to stand to the sentence of a number of mean persons, assisted with the presence of their poor teacher; a man (sometime it happeneth) though better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the rest: from whom, be their dealings never so absurd (unless it be by way of complaint to a synod), no appeal may be made unto any one of higher power; inasmuch as the order of your discipline admitteth no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judge to have any ordinary superior on earth, but as many supremacies as there are parishes and several congregations. Neither is it altogether without cause, that so many do fear the overthrow of all learning, as a threatened sequel of this your intended discipline. For if the world's preservation depend upon the multitude of the wise; and of that sort, the number hereafter be not likely to wax over great, when (that therewith the son of Sirach professeth himself at the heart grieved) men of understanding are already so little set by; how should their minds whom the love of so precious a jewel filleth with secret jealousy, even in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the flourishing estate thereof, choose but misdoubt lest this discipline, which always you match with Divine doctrine as her natural and true sister, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a step-mother; seeing that the greatest worldly hopes, which are proposed unto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seek utterly to extirpate as weeds; and have grounded your platform on such propositions, as do after a sort undermine those most renowned habitations, where, through the goodness of Almighty God, all commendable arts and sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and so may they for ever continue!) studied, proceeded in, and professed? To charge you, as purposely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. Only therefore, I wish, that yourselves did well consider how opposite certain of your positions are unto the state of collegiate societies, wherein the two universities consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take are by your laws taken away; yourselves who have sought them, ye so excuse; as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with, for some help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the church may be better reformed. Your laws forbidding ecclesiastical persons utterly the exercise of civil power, must needs deprive the heads and masters in the same colleges of all such authority as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by civil authority, are subject unto them; or abroad, by keeping courts amongst their tenants. Your laws making permanent inequality amongst ministers a thing

Sap. vi. 24.

Eccles. xxvi. 28.

repugnant to the word of God, enforce those colleges, the seniors whereof are all, or any part of them, ministers under the government of a master in the same vocation, to choose as oft as they meet together a new president. For if so ye judge it necessary to do in synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongst ministers, the same cause must needs, even in these collegiate assemblies, enforce the like: except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those corporations, and by bringing the universities unto the form of the school of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministry, whereinto their founders, with singular providence, have by the same statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your laws bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some parish abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the law civil is, that the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this land doth not need. Professors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds, as concerning their removal: in whose studies although myself have not been much conversant, nevertheless, exceeding great cause I see there is to wish, that thereunto more encouragement were given, as well for the singular treasures of wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within ourselves, and especially for commerce with nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would persuade, that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof, that the same is the only law whereby to determine all our civil controversies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may have their desire, who frankly broach it already, that the work of reformation will never be perfect, till the law of Jesus Christ be received alone; so pleaders and counsellors may bring their books of the common law, and bestow them as the students of curious and needless arts did theirs in the apostles' time? I leave them to scan, how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare, that whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate suits of law, "this one thing will shew the excellency of discipline for the wealth of the realm, and quiet of subjects; that the church is to censure such a party, who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without *reasonable cause*, upon a mere will and stomach, doth vex and molest his brother and trouble the country." For mine own part, I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, even to send out your writs of surcease unto all courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them. A great deal farther I might proceed, and

Humb. Motion to the L. p. 50.

Acts xix. 19.

Humb. Motion, p. 74.

descend lower; but forasmuch as against all these and the like difficulties, your answer is, that we ought to search what things are consonant to God's will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore that your discipline being (for such is your error) the absolute commandment of Almighty God, it must be received, although the world by receiving it should be clean turned upside down: herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of Divine authority is used to countenance these things, which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections; on him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstanding the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error, the mind once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases, if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion, concerning the lawfulness thereof, is withal received and broached under countenance of Divine authority. One example herein may serve for many, to shew, that false opinions touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hinderances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious than the first, yea, most extremely sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend, where the people took upon them the reformation of the church, by casting out popish superstition; they having received from their pastors a general instruction, that whatsoever the heavenly Father hath not planted, must be rooted out; proceeded in some foreign places so far, that down went oratories, and the very temples of God themselves. For as they chanced to take the compass of their commission stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others, there sprang up presently one kind of men, with whose zeal and forwardness the rest being compared, were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. These grounding themselves on rules more general; that whatsoever the law of Christ commandeth not, thereof antichrist is the author; and that whatsoever antichrist, or his adherents, did in the world, the true professors of Christ are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profess that dislike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the truth of all manner of

Counterp. p. 108.

Matt. xv. 13.

Guy de Bres contre l'Erreur des Anabaptistes, p. 4.

evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterwards, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance, they said, must appear by every man's fashioning his own life, contrary unto the custom and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose, they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to account riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof, not only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion
P. 5. unto Christ. They were solicitors of men to fasts, to often me-
P. 16. ditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret
P. 118, 119. with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desire as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reproved as being carnally and earthly-minded. Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered,
P. 116. 120. seemed to pierce like a sword through them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with sighs to repeat those words
Luke vi. 25. of our Saviour Christ, Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament. So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other men to
P. 117. be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men's use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselves openly abroad in worse. The ordinary names of the days in the week, they thought it a kind of profaneness to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction, than by numbers, the first, second, third day. From this they proceeded unto public
P. 40. reformation, first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched that themselves only had the truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that since the apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to control the ministers of the gospel, for attributing so much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read; whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to convert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual Divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto applicable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost, opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God; according to that which Jeremy promised

before should be, saying, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts." The book of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; besides it, they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch, as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects unto human writings, so far to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any books, save the Holy Bible, in their custody, they brought and set them publicly on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the state of souls departed, and such-like, are things needless to be rehearsed. And forasmuch as they were of the same suit with those of whom the apostle speaketh, saying, They are still learning, but never attain to the knowledge of truth, it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing not heard of before. Which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a manner infinite; so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon although their mutual contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole, the sounder in his own persuasion excusing *the dear brethren* which were not so far enlightened, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their swerving from him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified, as men whose vocation was from God; the rest their manner was to term disdainfully scribes and pharisees, to account their calling a human creature, and to detain the people, as much as might be, from hearing them. As touching sacraments, baptism administered in the church of Rome they judged to be but an execrable mockery, and no baptism; both because the ministers thereof in the papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd persons, thieves, and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to baptize, is a proper action belonging unto none but the church of Christ, whereas Rome is antichrist's synagogue. The custom of using godfathers and godmothers at christenings, they scorned. Baptism of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued even sithence the very apostles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly, because sundry errors are of no less antiquity; and partly, for that there

Jer. xxxi. 33.
P. 29.
P. 27.
2 Tim. iii. 7.
P. 65.
P. 66.
P. 155.
P. 25.
P. 71.
P. 124.
P. 764.
P. 748.
P. 512.
P. 518.

P. 722. is no commandment in the gospel of Christ which saith, "Baptize infants;" but he contrariwise in saying, "Go preach and baptize," doth appoint, that the minister of baptism shall in that action first administer doctrine, and then baptism; as also in saying, "Whosoever doth believe and is baptized," he appointeth, that the party to whom baptism is administered, shall first believe, and then be baptized; to the end, that believing may go before this sacrament in the receiver, no otherwise than preaching in the giver; sith equally in both, the law of Christ declareth, not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after supper. And for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mystical words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," they thought it not safe to mention either body or blood in that sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these, "Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord; Drink, shew forth our Lord's death." In rites and ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the church of Rome: for which cause they would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as antichrist (they said) was the first inventor of them. The pretended end of their civil reformation was, that Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and sceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Christian men, but he; no regiment keep them in awe, but his discipline; amongst them no sword at all be carried besides his, the sword of spiritual excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might, in overturning the seats of magistracy, because Christ hath said, "kings of nations;" in abolishing the execution of justice, because Christ hath said, "Resist not evil;" in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial trial, because Christ hath said, "Swear not at all:" finally, in bringing in community of goods, because Christ by his apostles hath given the world such example, to the end that men might excel one another, not in wealth, the pillar of secular authority, but in virtue. These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them was but this, "O quam honesta voluntate miseri erant? With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil?" Luther made request unto Frederick duke of Saxony, that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their error exempted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for

P. 726.
P. 688.
P. 38.
P. 122.
P. 841.
P. 833.
P. 849.
P. 40.
Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. cap. 19.
P. 6.

the state of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands. The means whereby they both allured and P. 420. retained so great multitudes, were most effectual; first, a wonderful show of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even wrapped in every thing they spake; secondly, a hatred of sin, and a singu- P. 55. lar love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorized guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to pour down showers of tears in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their per- P. 6. sons had in contempt, all liberty, both temporal and spiritual, taken from them; that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, P. 7. and to send them deliverance. Lastly, a cunning slight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises, in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon, the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, "These are verily the men of God, these are his true P. 7. and sincere prophets." If any such prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condign and deserved punishment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people (so strangely were their hearts enchanted), as though blessed Saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament, that God took away his most dear servants P. 27. from them. In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained, after speculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done but with mighty oppo- P. 6. sition and resistance; against which, to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into a league of association. And peradventure considering, that although they were many, yet long wars would in time waste them out; they began to think, whether it might not be, that God would have them do for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime God's own chosen people, the people of Israel did. Glad and fain they were to have it so; which very desire was itself apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather arguments of likelihood,

that so God himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, than that a new Jerusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themselves that *new* Jerusalem, and the *old* did by way of a certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by amplifying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning Divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old commonwealth of Israel; concluding, that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of Egypt of this world's servile thraldom unto sin and superstition: as Israel was to root out the idolatrous nations, and to plant instead of them, a people which feared God; so the same Lord's good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, under the conduct of other Joshuas, Sampsons, and Gideons, perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty: and therefore, as the cause why the children of Israel took unto one man many wives, might be, lest the casualties of war should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude, from taking effect in them; so it was not unlike that, for the necessary propagation of Christ's kingdom under the gospel, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will, and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erroneously persuaded, that it is the will of God to have those things done which they fancy; then opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest, till they have brought their speculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice, their restless desire and study to remove, leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings. So as what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the cloak of Divine authority, impossible it is, that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause, it behoveth wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. These men, in whose mouths at the first sounded nothing but only mortification of the flesh, were come at length, to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives a-piece. They which at the first thought judgment and justice themselves to be merciless cruelty; accounted, at the length, their own hands sanctified with being imbrued in Christian blood.

They who at the first were wont to beat down all dominion, and to urge against poor constables, "kings of nations;" had, at the length, both consuls and kings of their own erection amongst themselves. Finally, They which could not brook at the first, that any man should seek, no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken or withheld from them, were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, than by turning their adversaries clean out of house and home, and by enriching themselves with all kinds of spoil and pillage. Which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readiness their answer, that now the time was come, when according to our Saviour's promise, "the meek ones must inherit the earth;" and that their title hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians. Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you, though touching the sequel of your present mispersuasions, much more be doubted than your own intents and purposes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when ye affirm, that your pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, ought to be in this church of England, "whether her Majesty and our state will or no;" when for the animating of your confederates, ye publish the musters which ye have made of your own bands and proclaim them to amount to I know not how many thousands; when ye threaten, that sith neither your suits to the parliament, nor supplications to our convocation-house; neither your defences by writing, nor challenges of disputation in behalf of that cause, are able to prevail, we must blame ourselves, if, to bring in discipline, some such means hereafter be used, as shall cause all our hearts to ache. "That things doubtful are to be construed in the better part," is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the public state of a commonweal. But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline, brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongst you; whether the people and their godly pastors, that way affected, ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the licence of civil powers, which licence they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question, as ye have now divided yourselves, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; so in case these earnest ones should prevail, what other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having first resolved, that attempts for discipline without superiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed, what may be attempted against supe-

P. 41.

Matt. v. 5.

Exod. xi. 2.

Mart. in his third Libel, p. 28.

Demonstr. in the Pref.

riors, which will not have the sceptre of that discipline to rule over them? Yea, even by you which have stayed yourselves from running headlong with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful superiors, for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the clergy thereunto addicted. And lest examination of principal parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar against that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added unto the rest, even upon this occasion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oaths which may turn to the molestation of your brethren in that cause. The next neighbour opinion whereunto, when occasion requireth, may follow for dispensation with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessity of detecting aught which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be. O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereunto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream, as it were, of a contrary public resolution! Wherefore, if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded, even as ye are, have gone farther upon that persuasion than ye allow; if we regard the present state of the highest governor placed over us, if the quality and disposition of our nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous universities, if the profession of the civil, or the practice of the common law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto, even before our eyes, so many others have fallen headlong from no less plausible and fair beginnings than yours are: there is in every of these considerations most just cause to fear, lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence, should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy.

The conclusion of all.

9. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can, to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men; deem it not impossible for you to err; sift impartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason, or vehemency of affection, which hath bred, and still doth feed these opinions in you. If truth do any where manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glossing delusion, acknowledge the greatness thereof, *and think* it your best victory, when the same doth prevail over you.

That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, should be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many, so huge volumes, as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation, and honour, than the book wherein he carefully collecteth his own oversights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's, whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear; but the glory of an ingenuous mind he hath purchased by these words only, "Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I have spoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cause farther I will not proceed." Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be enjoined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many, our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions; the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy, even on both sides. Brought already we are even to that estate which Gregory Nazianzen mournfully describeth, saying, "My mind leadeth me (sith there is no other remedy) to fly and convoy myself into some corner out of sight, where I may scape from this cloudy tempest of maliciousness, whereby all parts are entered into a deadly war amongst themselves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now consumed to nothing. The only godliness we glory in, is to find out somewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each other's faults we observe, as matter of exprobation, and not of grief. By these means we have grown hateful in the eyes of the heathens themselves, and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny, but that we have deserved their hatred: with the better sort of our own, our fame and credit are clean lost. The less we are to marvel, if they judge vilely of us, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they also build that are lewd, and what we object one against another, the same they use, to the utter scorn and disgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-dissensions: this we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to strive, than becometh men of virtuous and mild disposition." But our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at the highest float, and that the day will come, (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly-reconciled love, shew ourselves each towards other the same with Joseph, and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of

Job xl. 4, 5.

Greg. Naz. in Apol.

their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and mo thirsty desire whereof, what man soever amongst you shall any wa help to satisfy (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you bu someway or other will), the blessings of the God of peace, both i this world and in the world to come, be upon him more than th stars of the firmament in number.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK I.

Concerning Laws, and their several kinds in general.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIRST BOOK.

1. The cause of writing this general discourse concerning laws.
2. Of that law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself, to do all things by.
3. The law which natural agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
4. The law which the angels of God obey.
5. The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
6. Men's first beginning to understand that law.
7. Of man's will, which is the first thing that laws of action are made to guide.
8. Of the natural finding out of laws by the light of reason, to guide the will unto that which is good.
9. Of the benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.
10. How reason doth lead men unto the making of human laws, whereby politic societies are governed, and to agreement about laws, whereby the fellowship or communion of independent societies standeth.
11. Wherefore God hath by Scripture farther made known such supernatural laws as do serve for men's direction.
12. The cause why so many natural or rational laws are set down in Holy Scripture.
13. The benefit of having Divine laws written.
14. The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.
15. Of laws positive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.
16. A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

The cause of writing this general discourse.

He that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is subject: but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. And because such as openly re-

prove supposed disorders of state, are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and plausible colour, whatsoever they utter, passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech, is supplied by the aptness of men's minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices, deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favour of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds, so averted beforehand, usually take against that which they are loath should be poured into them. Albeit therefore, much of that we are to speak in this present cause, may seem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate (for many talk of the truth, which never sounded the depth from whence it springeth; and therefore when they are led thereunto, they are soon weary, as men drawn from those beaten paths wherewith they have been inured); yet this may not so far prevail, as to cut off that which the matter itself requireth, howsoever the nice humour of some be therewith pleased, or no. They unto whom we shall seem tedious, are in no wise injured by us, because it is in their own hands to spare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obscurity, they must consider, that in these matters it cometh no otherwise to pass, than in sundry the works both of art, and also of nature, where that which hath greatest force in the very things we see, is notwithstanding itself oftentimes not seen. The stateliness of houses, the goodliness of trees when we behold them, delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministereth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom of the earth concealed; and if there be occasion at any time to search into it, such labour is then more necessary than pleasant, both to them which undertake it, and for the lookers-on. In like manner, the use and benefit of good laws, all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first original causes from whence they have sprung, be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience, pretend, that the laws which they should obey

are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the highest well-spring and fountain, of them to be discovered. Which, because we are not oftentimes accustomed to do, when we do do it, the pains we take are more needful a great deal than acceptable, and the matters which we handle seem, by reason of newness (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof, as may be in this case, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some light unto all before. So that if the judgments of men do but hold themselves in suspense, as touching these first more general meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue; what may seem dark at the first, will afterwards be found more plain; even as the latter particular decisions will appear, I doubt not, more strong, when the other have been read before. The laws of the church, whereby for so many ages together we have been guided in the exercise of Christian religion, and the service of the true God, our rites, customs, and orders of ecclesiastical government, are called in question. We are accused as men that will not have Christ Jesus to rule over them; but have wilfully cast his statutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed and made subject unto the sceptre of his discipline. Behold, therefore, we offer the laws whereby we live unto the general trial and judgment of the whole world; heartily beseeching Almighty God, whom we desire to serve according to his own will, that both we and others (all kind of partial affection being laid clean aside) may have eyes to see, and hearts to embrace, the things that in his sight are most acceptable. And because the point about which we strive is the quality of our laws, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with consideration of the nature of law in general, and of that law which giveth life unto all the rest which are commendable, just, and good, namely, the law whereby the Eternal himself doth work. Proceeding from hence to the law, first of nature, then of Scripture, we shall have the easier access unto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we have in hand.

2. All things that are, have some operation not violent or casual: neither doth any thing ever begin to exercise the

Of that law which God from

fore the ginning th set for mself to all ings by.

same, without some foreconceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unless the work be also fit to obtain it by; for unto every end every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure of working, the same we term a law. So that no certain end could ever be attained, unless the actions whereby it is attained, were regular; that is to say, made suitable, fit, and correspondent, unto their end, by some canon, rule, or law: which thing doth first take place in the works, even of God himself. All things therefore do work after a sort according to law; all other things according to a law, whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is author; only the works and operations of God have him both for their worker, and for the law whereby they are wrought. The being of God is a kind of law to his working; for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth. Those natural, necessary, and internal operations of God, the generation of the Son, the proceeding of the Spirit, are without the compass of my present intent; which is to touch only such operations as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be; which eternal decree is that we term an eternal law. Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man, to wade far into the doings of the Most High; whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him: and our safest eloquence concerning him, is our silence, when we confess without confession, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few. Our God is one, or rather very oneness, and mere unity, having nothing but itself in itself, and not consisting (as all things do besides God) of many things; in which essential unity of God, a trinity personal nevertheless subsisteth, after a manner far exceeding the possibility of man's conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that each person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper: for being three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one Deity, from the Father, by the Son, through

the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the same we have at the hands of the Spirit, as being the last, and therefore the nearest unto us in order, although in power the same with the second and the first. The wise and learned among the very heathens themselves, have all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an agent, which knowing what and why it worketh, observeth in working a most exact order or law. Thus much is signified by that which Homer mentioneth, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.[a] Thus much acknowledged by Mercurius Trismegistus, Τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς, οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ.[b] Thus much confessed by Anaxagoras and Plato, terming the maker of the world an intellectual worker. Finally, the Stoics, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held nevertheless, that the same fire having art, did ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμου.[c] They all confess therefore, in the working of that first Cause, that counsel is used, reason followed, a way observed, that is to say, constant order and law are kept, whereof itself must needs be author unto itself: otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not itself be the first; being the first, it can have no other than itself to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a law both to himself, and to all other things besides. To himself he is a law in all those things whereof our Saviour speaks, saying, "My Father worketh as yet, so I." God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, have some end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not created. "Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone;" therefore let us make a helper for him. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leave undone were not so good. If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as we see they are? the reason hereof is, the end which he

John xvi. 13—15.

John v. 17.

Gen. ii. 18.

[a] Jupiter's counsel was accomplished.

[b] The Creator made the whole world not with hands, but by reason. Stob. in Eclog. Phys.

[c] Proceed by a certain and a set way in the making of the world.

hath proposed, and the law whereby his wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correspondently unto that end for which it worketh, even all things, χρήστως, in most decent and comely sort, all things in measure, number, and weight. The general end of God's eternal working, is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue: which abundance doth shew itself in variety, and for that cause this variety is oftentimes in Scripture expressed by the name of riches. "The Lord hath made all things for his own sake." Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of every act proceeding eternally from God, we are not able to discern; and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reason of his works. Howbeit, undoubtedly, a proper and certain reason there is of every finite work of God, inasmuch as there is a law imposed upon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite even as the worker himself is. They err therefore, who think that of the will of God to do this or that, there is no reason besides his will. Many times no reason known to us; but that there is no reason thereof, I judge it most unreasonable to imagine, inasmuch as he worketh all things κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not only "according to his own will," but "the counsel of his own will." And whatsoever is done with counsel or wise resolution, hath of necessity some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to us in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the blessed apostle himself doth, amazed thereat, "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments," &c. That law eternal which God himself hath made to himself, and thereby worketh all things, whereof he is the cause and author; that law, in the admirable frame whereof shineth with most perfect beauty, the countenance of that wisdom which hath testified concerning herself, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, even before his works of old I was set up;" that law which hath been the pattern to make, and is the card to guide the world by; that law, which hath been of God, and with God everlastingly; that law, the author and observer whereof is, one only God, to be blessed for ever; how should either men or angels be able perfectly to behold? The book of this law we

Sap. viii. 1. xi. 17.

Ephes. i. 17. Phil. iv. 17. Col. ii. 3. Prov. xvi. 4.

Ephes. i. 11.

Prov. viii. 23.

are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little whereof, which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the rest, with religious ignorance, we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing, therefore, that according to this law he worketh, "of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things;" although there seem unto us confusion and disorder in the affairs of this present world: "Tamen, quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites: Let no man doubt but that every thing is well done, because the world is ruled by so good a guide," as transgresseth not his own law; than which, nothing can be more absolute, perfect, and just. The law whereby he worketh, is eternal, and therefore can have no show or colour of mutability. For which cause, a part of that law being opened in the promises which God hath made (because his promises are nothing else but declarations what God will do for the good of men) touching those promises the apostle hath witnessed, that God may as possibly deny himself, and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the counsel of God, he termeth it likewise a thing unchangeable; the counsel of God, and that law of God, whereof now we speak, being one. Nor is the freedom of the will of God any whit abated, let, or hindered, by means of this; because the imposition of this law upon himself, is his own free and voluntary act. This law therefore we may name eternal, being that order which God before all ages hath set down with himself for himself to do all things by.

Rom. xi. 36.

Boet. lib. 4. de consol. philos.

2 Tim. ii. 13. Heb. vi. 17.

3. I am not ignorant, that by law eternal, the learned for the most part do understand the order, not which God hath eternally purposed himself in all his works to observe, but rather that, which with himself he hath set down as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the several conditions wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accustomed to speak, apply the name of law unto that only rule of working, which superior authority imposeth; whereas we somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, term any kind of rule or canon, whereby actions are framed, a law. Now that law, which, as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call eternal, receiveth, according unto the different kind of things which are subject unto it, different and sundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth natural agents, we call usually nature's law; that which angels do clearly behold, and without any answering observe, is a law celes-

The law which natural agents have given them to observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

tial and heavenly; the law of reason, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this world, and with which by reason they most plainly perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by special revelation from God, Divine law. Human law, that which out of the law, either of reason or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient they make it a law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto this second law eternal; and even those things which to this eternal law are not conformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by the first eternal law. For what good or evil is there under the sun; what action correspondent or repugnant unto the law which God hath imposed upon his creatures, but in, or upon it, God doth work according to the law which himself hath eternally purposed to keep; that is to say, the first eternal law? So that a twofold law eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in all things.[d] Wherefore to come to the law of nature, albeit thereby we sometimes mean that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keep; yet forasmuch as those things are termed most properly natural agents, which keep the law of their kind unwittingly, as the heavens and elements of the world, which can do no otherwise than they do; and forasmuch as we give unto intellectual natures, the name of voluntary agents, that so we may distinguish them from the other; expedient it will be, that we sever the law of nature observed by the one, from that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one tenure, statute, and law, is spoken of by all, but hath in it more than men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever shall attain, seeing the travail of wading herein is given of God to the sons of men; that perceiving how much the least thing in the world hath in it more than the wisest are able to reach unto, they may

[d] Id omne, quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ. Th. l. 1, 2. q. 93. art. 4—6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, a quo pax universitatis administratur. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xix. cap. 22. Immo et peccatum, quatenus a deo juste permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subjicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inserit, juxta illud Augustini, Jussisti Domine, et sic est, ut pœna sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus. Confes. lib. i. cap. 12. Nec male scholastici. Quemadmodum, inquiunt, videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quod a fine particulari suo, atque adeo a lege æterna exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem a lege etiam æterna ipsis in casu particulari constitutum: sic verisimile est, homines, etiam cum peccant, et desciscunt a lege æterna ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis.

by this means learn humility. Moses, in describing the work of creation, attributeth speech unto God: "God said, Let there be light: let there be a firmament: let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place: let the earth bring forth: let there be lights in the firmament of heaven." Was this only the intent of Moses, to signify the infinite greatness of God's power, by the easiness of his accomplishing such effects, without travail, pain, or labour? Surely, it seemeth that Moses had herein, besides this, a farther purpose, namely, first, to teach that God did not work as a necessary, but a voluntary agent, intending beforehand, and decreeing with himself, that which did outwardly proceed from him. Secondly, to shew that God did then institute a law natural to be observed by creatures; and therefore, according to the manner of laws, the institution thereof is described, as being established by solemn injunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keep that tenure and course which they do, importeth the establishment of nature's law. The world's first creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it, but only so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the eternal law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to pass in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all states framing themselves thereunto; even so let us think it fareth in the natural course of the world: since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: "he made a law for the rain;" he gave his "decree unto the sea, that the waters should not pass his commandment." Now, if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for awhile, the observation of her own laws; if those principal and mother-elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were, through a languishing faintness, begin to stand, and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten

Psalm xix. 4—6.

way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth bedefeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away, as children at the withered breasts of their mother, no longer able to yield them relief; what would become of man himself, whom these things do now all serve? See we not plainly, that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world? Notwithstanding, with nature it cometh sometimes to pass as with art. Let Phidias have rude and obstinate stuff to carve, though his art do that it should, his work will lack that beauty which otherwise in fitter matter it might have had. He that striketh an instrument with skill, may cause notwithstanding a very unpleasant sound, if the string whereupon he striketh chance to be incapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural consist, that of Theophrastus takes place, Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦον οὐ δὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ. "Much of it is oftentimes such, as will by no means yield to receive that impression which were best and most perfect." Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themselves unto the contemplation of nature amongst the heathen, observed often; but the true original cause thereof, Divine malediction, laid for the sin of man upon these creatures, which God had made for the use of man, this being an article of that saving truth which God hath revealed unto his church, was above the reach of their merely natural capacity and understanding. But however, these swervings are now and then incident into the course of nature; nevertheless so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observed, that no man denieth, but those things which nature worketh are wrought either always, or for the most part, after one and the same manner. If here it be demanded, what this is which keepeth nature in obedience to her own law, we must have recourse to the higher law, whereof we have already spoken; and because all other laws do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as travellers by sea upon the pole-star of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand

Theophrast. Metaph.

Arist. Rhet. cap. 39.

to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates,[a] "That each thing, both in small and in great, fulfilleth the task which destiny hath set down;" and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, "what they do they know not, yet is it in show and appearance, as though they did know what they do; and the truth is, they do not discern the things which they look on:" nevertheless, forasmuch as the works of nature are no less exact than if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be, but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who is the guide of nature, but only the God of nature? In him we live, move, and are. Those things which nature is said to do, are by Divine art performed, using nature as an instrument; nor is there any such art or knowledge Divine in nature herself working, but in the guide of nature's work. Whereas therefore things natural, which are not in the number of voluntary agents (for of such only we now speak, and of no other), do so necessarily observe their certain laws, that as long as they keep those forms [b] which give them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise than they do; seeing the kinds of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed, according to the several ends for which they serve, they themselves in the meanwhile, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why; it followeth, that all which they do in this sort proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth, the same. The manner of this Divine efficiency being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reason, than creatures unreasonable by their sense, are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affairs. Only thus much is discerned, that the natural generation and process of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the settled stability of

Acts xvii. 28.

[a] Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον. ὃ πράσσουσιν οὐκ οἴδασιν, ὃ δὲ πράσσουσι, δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι, καὶ ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι οὐ γινώσκουσι.

[b] Form in other creatures is a thing proportionable unto the soul in living creatures. Sensible it is not, nor otherwise discernible than only by effects. According to the diversity of inward forms, things of the world are distinguished into their kinds.

Divine understanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working; the disposition whereof, in the purity of God's own knowledge and will, is rightly termed by the name of Providence. The same being referred unto the things themselves, here disposed by it, was wont by the ancients to be called *natural destiny*. That law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical, or an original draught, written in the bosom of God himself; whose Spirit being to execute the same, useth every particular nature, every mere natural agent, only as an instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning used to work his own will and pleasure withal.[a] Nature therefore is nothing else but God's instrument; in the course whereof, Dionysius perceiving some sudden disturbance, is said to have cried out, "Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvitur:" either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater than himself hindered; or if that be impossible, then hath he determined to make a present dissolution of the world; the execution of that law beginning now to stand still, without which the world cannot stand. This workman, whose servitor nature is, being in truth but only one, the heathens imagining to be more, gave him in the sky the name of Jupiter; in the air the name of Juno; in the water the name of Neptune; in the earth the name of Vesta, and sometimes of Ceres; the name of Apollo in the sun; in the moon the name of Diana; the name of Æolus, and divers others, in the winds; and to conclude, even so many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kinds of things natural in the world. These they honoured, as having power to work or cease accordingly as men deserved of them: but unto us, there is one only guide of all agents natural, and he both the Creator and the worker of all in all, alone to be blessed, adored, and honoured, by all for ever. That which hitherto hath been spoken, concerneth natural agents considered in themselves: but we must farther remember also (which thing to touch, in a word, shall suffice), that as in this respect they have their law, which law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection; so likewise another law there is, which toucheth them as they are

[a] Vide Tho. in Compend. Theol. cap. 3. Omne quod movetur ab aliquo, est quasi instrumentum quoddam primi moventis. Ridiculum est autem, etiam apud indoctos, ponere, instrumentum moveri non ab aliquo principali agente.

sociable parts united into one body: a law which bindeth them each to serve unto others' good, and all to prefer the good of the whole, before whatsoever their own particular, as we plainly see they do, when things natural in that regard, forget their ordinary natural wont: that which is heavy, mounting sometimes upwards of its own accord, and forsaking the centre of the earth which to itself is most natural, even as if it did hear itself commanded to let go the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the present distress of nature in common.

4. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footstool to the throne of God, and leaving these natural consider a little the state of heavenly and Divine creatures: touching angels, which are spirits immaterial and intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of those sacred palaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable passions, to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever, doth dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies, so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them. Such observants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself being to set down the perfect idea of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more, than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven. God, which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only, doth otherwise move intellectual creatures, and especially his holy angels: for beholding the face of God, in admiration of so great excellency, they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness, maketh them unweariable and even unsatiable in their longing, to do by all means all manner of good unto all the creatures of God, but especially unto the children of men. In the countenance of whose nature looking downward, they behold themselves beneath themselves; even as upward in God, beneath whom themselves are, they see that character which is no where but in themselves and us resembled. Thus far even the painims have approached; thus far have they seen into the doings of the angels of God; Orpheus confessing, that the fiery throne of God is attended on by those most industrious

The law which angels do work by.

Ps. civ. 4. Heb. i. 7 Ephes. iii. 10.

Dan. vii. 10. Matt. xxvi. 53. Heb. xii. 22. Luke ii. 13.

Matt. vi. 10.

xviii. 10.

Psalm xci. 11, 12. Luke xv. [illegible] Heb. i. 14. Acts x. 3. Dan. ix. 23. Matt. xviii. 10. Dan. iv. 10.

angels, careful how all things are performed amongst men; [a] and the mirror of human wisdom plainly teaching, that God moveth angels, even as that thing doth stir man's heart, which is thereunto presented amiable. Angelical actions may therefore be reduced unto these three general kinds: First, most delectable love arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory, and beauty of God invisible, saving only unto spirits that are pure: [b] Secondly, adoration grounded upon the evidence of the greatness of God, on whom they see how all things depend: Thirdly, imitation, bred by the presence of his exemplary goodness, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heaven and earth with the rich treasures of most free and undeserved grace. Of angels, we are not to consider only what they are and do, in regard of their own being, but that also which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of corporation amongst themselves, and of society or fellowship with men. Consider angels, each of them severally in himself, and their law is that which the prophet David mentioneth, "all ye his angels praise him." Consider the angels of God associated; and their law is that which disposeth them as an army, one in order and degree above another. Consider finally the angels as having with us that communion which the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth; and in regard whereof, angels have not disdained to profess themselves our fellow-servants; from hence there springeth up a third law, which bindeth them to works of ministerial employment. Every of which their several functions are by them performed with joy. A part of the angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have fallen, and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable virtue. Impossible it was, that ever their will should change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without some object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliss, wherein now the elect angels are, without possibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God, they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides

Job xxxviii. 7. Matt. xviii. 10. Psal. cxlviii. 2. Heb. i. 6. Isa. vi. 3.

Psal. cxlviii. 2. Luke ii. 13. Matt. xxvi. 53. Heb. xii. 22. Apoc. xxii. 9.

2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.

[a] Τῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παραστᾶσιν πολυμόχθοι
Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε, βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τέλεῖται. Arist. Metaph. xii. cap. 7.

[b] This is intimated wheresoever we find them termed "the sons of God," as Job i. 6. and xxxviii. 7.

God, they apprehended it not in itself, without dependency upon God; because so long, God must needs seem infinitely better than any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them, could not in such sort be presented unto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always, how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore, that there was no other way for angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination unto God, and their dependency on him, was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God, could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels therefore was pride; since their fall, their practices have been clean contrary unto those before mentioned: for being dispersed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, some amongst the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the earth; they have, by all means, laboured to effect a universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth, utter destruction of the works, of God. These wicked spirits the heathens honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of *dii inferii*, gods infernal; and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols, some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world, and dissolved the works of the devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for angels, the next unto whom in degree are men.

John viii. 44. 1 Pet. v. 8. Apoc. ix. 11. Gen. iii. 15. 1 Chr. xxi. 1. Job i. 7. and ii. 2. John xiii. 27. Acts v. 3. Apoc. xx. 8.

5. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is, whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be, that which now he is not; all other things besides are somewhat in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the general name of *goodness*. And because there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. [a] Again, sith there can be no goodness desired, which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supreme cause of all things; and every

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

[a] Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. Arist. de An. lib. i. cap. 4.

effect doth after a sort contain, at leastwise resemble, the the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seek the Highest, and to covet more or less the participation of God himself; yet this doth no where so much appear, as it doth in man, because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodness is, that general perfection which all things do seek, in desiring the continuance of their being; all things therefore coveting, as much as may be, to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot hereunto attain personally, doth seek to continue itself another way; that is, by offspring and propagation. The next degree of goodness is, that which each thing coveteth, by affecting resemblance with God, in the constancy and excellency of those operations which belong unto their kind. The immutability of God they strive unto, by working either always, or for the most part, after one and the same manner; his absolute exactness they imitate, by tending unto that which is most exquisite in every particular. Hence have arisen a number of axioms in philosophy, [a] shewing, "how the works of nature do always aim at that which cannot be bettered." These two kinds of goodness rehearsed, are so nearly united to the things themselves which desire them, that we scarcely perceive the appetite to stir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the desire of those perfections which grow externally is more apparent, especially of such as are not expressly desired, unless they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause than for knowledge itself desired. Concerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exercise of virtue, man, amongst the creatures of this inferior world, aspireth to the greatest conformity with God. This is not only known unto us, whom he himself hath so instructed, but even they do acknowledge, who amongst men are not judged the nearest unto him. With Plato, what one thing more usual, than to excite men unto love of wisdom, by shewing, how much wise men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raise them up into heaven; how it maketh them, though not gods, yet as gods, high, admirable, and Divine? And Mercurius Trismegistus speaking of the virtues of a right-

Matt. v. 48.
Sap. vii. 27.

[a] Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. Arist. 2. de cœl. cap. 5.

eous soul, [a] "Such spirits (saith he) are never cloyed with praising and speaking well of all men, with doing good unto every one by word and deed, because they study to frame themselves according to *the pattern* of the Father of spirits."

6. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the angels of God, and the children of men, this difference; Angels already have full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that can be imparted unto them: men, if we view them in their spring, are at the first without understanding or knowledge at all. Nevertheless, from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the angels themselves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attain unto in the end; they are not so far disjoined and severed, but that they come at length to meet. The soul of man being therefore at the first as a book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge. Unto that which hath been already set down concerning natural agents, this we must add, that albeit therein we have comprised, as well creatures living, as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheless, a difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have, though weak, yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts, have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior unto plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength, or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation, and of fertility: so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them. The soul of man therefore, being capable of a more Divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge, which is common unto us with beasts) a farther ability, whereof in them there is no show at all, the ability of reach-

Men's first beginning to grow to the knowledge of that law which they are to observe. Vide Isa. vii. 16.

[a] Ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει, ὑμνοῦσα, εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας εὐποιοῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα.

ing higher than unto sensible things.[a] Till we grow to some ripeness of years, the soul of man doth only store itself with conceits of things of inferior or more open quality, which afterward do serve as instruments unto that which is greater; in the meanwhile, above the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradiction in speech, we then count it to have some use of natural reason: whereunto, if afterward there might be added the right helps of true art and learning (which helps, I must plainly confess, this age of the world, carrying the name of a learned age, doth neither much know, nor greatly regard) there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgment between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now, and innocents. Which speech, if any condemn, as being over hyperbolical, let them consider but this one thing: no art is at the first finding out so perfect as industry may after make it; yet the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speak of, and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more, very near, in all parts of natural knowledge, than sithence in any one part thereof the whole world besides hath done. In the poverty of that other new devised aid, two things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marvellous quick dispatch it is, and doth shew them that have it as much almost in three days as if it had dwelt threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things than were convenient; the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities as every where offering themselves are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be: so as following the rules and precepts thereof, we may find it to be an art which teacheth the way of speedy discourse, and restraineth the mind of man that it may not wax overwise. Education and instruction are the means, the one by use, the other by precept, to make our natural faculty of reason both the better and the sooner able to judge rightly between truth and error, good and evil. But at what time a man may be said to have attained so far forth the use of reason as sufficeth

Aristotelical demonstration.

Ramistry.

[a] Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὑψηλὰ, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινὰ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. Merc. Tris.

to make him capable of those laws whereby he is then bound to guide his actions; this is a great deal more easy for common sense to discern, than for any man by skill and learning to determine; even as it is not in philosophers, who best know the nature both of fire and gold, to teach what degree of the one will serve to purify the other, so well as the artizan (which doth this by fire) discerneth by sense when the fire hath that degree of heat which sufficeth for his purpose.

Of man's will, which is the thing that laws of action are made to guide.

7. By reason man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are, and are not sensible; it resteth therefore, that we search how man attaineth unto the knowledge of such things unsensible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move unless there be some end, the desire whereof provoketh unto motion; how should that Divine power of the soul, "that spirit of our mind," as the Apostle termeth it, ever stir itself unto action, unless it have also the like spur? The end for which we are moved to work, is sometimes the goodness which we conceive of the very working itself, without any farther respect at all; and the cause that procureth action is the mere desire of action, no other good besides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is said, "Illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur:—they thought the very disturbance of things established a hire sufficient to set them on work." Sometimes that which we do is referred to a farther end, without the desire whereof we would leave the same undone; as in their actions that gave alms, to purchase thereby the praise of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likeness of his Maker, resembleth him also in the manner of working; so that whatsoever we work as men, the same we do wittingly work and freely: neither are we according to the manner of natural agents any way so tied, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which consisteth in the very doing itself, causeth not action, unless apprehending it as good we so like and desire it. That we do unto any such end, the same we choose and prefer before the leaving of it undone. Choice there is not, unless the thing we take be so in our power that we might have refused and left it. If fire consume the stubble, it chooseth not so to do, because the nature thereof is such that it can do no other. To choose, is to will one thing before another; and to will, is to bend our souls to the having

Eph. iv. 23.

Sallust.

Matt. vi. 2.

or doing of that which they see to be good. Goodness is seen with the eye of the understanding, and the light of that eye is reason. So that two principal fountains there are of human action, knowledge and will; which will, in things tending towards any end, is termed choice. Concerning knowledge, "Behold (saith Moses), I have set before you this day good and evil, life and death." Concerning will, he addeth immediately, "Choose life;" that is to say, the things that tend unto life, them choose. But of one thing we must have special care, as being a matter of no small moment, and that is, how the will, properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural desire which we call appetite. The object of appetite is whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of will is that good which reason doth lead us to seek. Affections, as joy, and grief, and fear, and anger, with such-like, being as it were the sundry fashions and forms of appetite, can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power whether we will be stirred with affections, or no: whereas actions which issue from the disposition of the will, are in the power thereof to be performed or stayed. Finally, appetite is the will's solicitor, and will is appetite's controller; what we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject. Neither is any other desire termed properly will, but that where reason and understanding, or the show of reason, prescribeth the thing desired. It may be therefore a question, whether those operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is sensible provoketh appetite, and appetite causeth action, reason being never called to counsel; as when we eat or drink, and betake ourselves unto rest, and such-like. The truth is, that such actions in men having attained to the use of reason, are voluntary: for as the authority of higher powers, hath force even in those things which are done without their privity, and are of so mean reckoning that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not; in like sort, voluntarily we are said to do that also, which the will, if it listeth, might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we do not expressly use our reason or understanding, and so immediately apply our wills thereunto. In cases therefore of such facility, the

Deut. xxx. 19.

will must yield her assent, as it were with a kind of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect her force is not so apparent as in express mandates or prohibitions, especially upon advice and consultation going before. Where understanding therefore needeth, in those things reason is the director of man's will, by discovering in action what is good. For the laws of well-doing are the dictates of right reason. Children which are not as yet come unto those years whereat they may have; again, innocents which are excluded by natural defect from ever having; thirdly, madmen, which for the present cannot possibly have the use of right reason to guide themselves, have for their guide the reason that guideth other men, which are tutors over them to seek and to procure their good for them. In the rest there is that light of reason, whereby good may be known from evil; and which discovering the same rightly is termed right. The will, notwithstanding, doth not incline to have or do that which reason teacheth to be good, unless the same do also teach it to be possible. For albeit the appetite, being more general, may wish any thing which seemeth good, be it never so impossible; yet for such things the reasonable will of man doth never seek. Let reason teach impossibility in any thing, and the will of man doth let it go; a thing impossible it doth not affect, the impossibility thereof being manifest.[a] There is in the will of man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever being presented unto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular object so good but it may have the show of some difficulty or unpleasant quality annexed to it, in respect whereof, the will may shrink and decline it; contrariwise (for so things are blended) there is no particular evil which hath not some appearance of goodness whereby to insinuate itself. For evil, as evil, cannot be desired;[b] if that be desired which is evil, the cause is the goodness which is, or seemeth to be, joined with it. Goodness doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected which are most precious, only because the value of them lieth hid. Sensible goodness is most apparent, near, and present, which causeth the appetite to be therewith strongly provoked. Now

[a] O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos!

[b] Εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. Paulo post: Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾷν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὰ, οὔτε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθοῦ, οὔτε φόβῳ μείζονος κακοῦ. Alcin. de Dog. Plat.

pursuit and refusal in the will do follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodness, which the understanding apprehendeth, grounding itself upon sense, unless some higher reason do chance to teach the contrary. And if reason have taught it rightly to be good, yet not so apparently that the mind receiveth it with utter impossibility of being otherwise, still there is place left for the will to take or leave. Whereas therefore amongst so many things as are to be done there are so few, the goodness whereof reason in such sort doth or easily can discover, we are not to marvel at the choice of evil even then when the contrary is probably known. Hereby it cometh to pass, that custom, inuring the mind by long practice, and so leaving there a sensible impression, prevaileth more than reasonable persuasion what way soever. Reason therefore may rightly discern the thing which is good, and yet the will of man not incline itself thereunto as oft as the prejudice of sensible experience doth oversway. Nor let any man think, that this doth make any thing for the just excuse of iniquity: for there was never sin committed wherein a less good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the singular disgrace of nature, and the utter disturbance of that Divine order, whereby the pre-eminence of chiefest acceptation is by the best things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for itself if reason were diligent to search it out. Through the neglect thereof, abused we are with the show of that which is not; sometimes the subtilty of Satan inveigling us, as it did Eve; sometimes the hastiness of our wills preventing the more considerate advice of sound reason, as in the apostles, when they no sooner saw what they liked not, but they forthwith were desirous for fire from heaven; sometimes the very custom of evil making the heart obdurate against whatsoever instructions to the contrary, as in them over whom our Saviour spake weeping, "O Jerusalem, how often, and thou wouldest not!" Still therefore that wherewith we stand blameable, and can no way excuse it, is, that in doing evil we prefer a less good before a greater, the greatness whereof is by reason investigable and may be known. The search of knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the will so hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof is Divine malediction; where-

2 Cor. xi. 3.

Luke ix. 54.

Matt. xxiii. 37.

by the instruments[a] being weakened wherewithal the soul (especially in reasoning) doth work, it preferreth rest in ignorance before wearisome labour to know. For a spur of diligence therefore, we have a natural thirst after knowledge ingrafted in us. But by reason of that original weakness in the instruments, without which the understanding part is not able in this world by discourse to work, the very conceit of painfulness is as a bridle to stay us. For which cause the apostle, who knew right well that the weariness of the flesh is a heavy clog to the will, striketh mightily upon this key, "Awake thou that sleepest, cast off all which presseth down; watch, labour, strive to go forward, and to grow in knowledge."

Eph. v. 14. Heb. xii. 1. 12. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Prov. ii. 4. Luke xiii. 24.

8. Wherefore to return to our former intent of discovering the natural way, whereby rules have been found out concerning that goodness wherewith the will of man ought to be moved in human actions; as every thing naturally and necessarily doth desire the utmost good and greatest perfection, whereof nature hath made it capable, even so man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choose but wish and covet it. All particular things which are subject unto action, the will doth so far forth incline unto, as reason judgeth them the better for us, and consequently the more available to our bliss. If reason err, we fall into evil, and are so far forth deprived of the general perfection we seek. Seeing therefore, that for the framing of men's actions the knowledge of good from evil is necessary, it only resteth, that we search how this may be had. Neither must we suppose that there needeth one rule to know the good, and another the evil by. [b] For he that knoweth what is straight, doth even thereby discern what is crooked, because the absence of straightness in bodies capable thereof is crookedness. Goodness in actions is like unto straightness; wherefore that which is done well, we term right. For as the straight way is most acceptable to him that travelleth, because by it he cometh soonest to his journey's end; so in action, that which doth lie the evenest between us and the end we de-

Of the natural way of finding out laws by reason to guide the will unto that which is good.

[a] "A corruptible body is heavy unto the soul, and the earthly mansion keepeth down the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can we discern the things that are upon earth, and with great labour find we out the things which are before us. Who then can seek out the things that are in heaven?" Sap. ix. 15.

[b] Τῷ εὐθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γνώσκομεν κριτὴς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών. Arist. de An. lib. i.

sire, must needs be the fittest for our use. Besides which fitness for use, there is also in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwise in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Grecians most divinely have given to the active perfection of men a name expressing both beauty and goodness; because goodness in ordinary speech is for the most part applied only to that which is beneficial. But we in the name of goodness, do here imply both. And of discerning goodness, there are but these two ways; the one, the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such; the other, the observation of those signs and tokens, which being annexed always unto goodness, argue, that where they are found, there also goodness is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these is the most sure and infallible way, but so hard that all shun it, and had rather walk as men do in the dark by hap-hazard, than tread so long and intricate mazes for knowledge' sake. As therefore physicians are many times forced to leave such methods of curing as themselves know to be the fittest, and being overruled by their patients' impatiency are fain to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure which the cured will yield unto; in like sort, considering how the case doth stand with this present age full of tongue and weak of brain, behold we yield to the stream thereof: into the causes of goodness we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and then it shall be sufficient, when they are so near at hand that easily they may be conceived without any far removed discourse: that way we are contented to prove, which being the worse in itself, is notwithstanding now, by reason of common imbecility, the fitter and likelier to be brooked. Signs and tokens to know good by, are of sundry kinds; some more certain, and some less. The most certain token of evident goodness is, if the general persuasion of all men do so account it. And therefore a common received error is never utterly overthrown till such times as we go from signs unto causes, and shew some manifest root or fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to pass that so many have been overseen. In which case surmises and slight probabilities will not serve, because the universal consent of men is the perfectest and strongest in this kind, which

Καλοκαγαθία.

comprehendeth only the signs and tokens of goodness. Things casual do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of, cannot still have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cause, yet thus much we may know, that some necessary cause there is, whensoever the judgments of all men generally, or for the most part, run one and the same way, especially in matters of that discourse: for of things necessarily and naturally done, there is no more affirmed but this, "They keep either always, or for the most part, one tenure."[a] The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself: for that which all men have at all times learned, nature herself must needs have taught;[b] and God being the author of nature, her voice is but his instrument. By her, from him, we receive whatsoever in such sort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodness whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The apostle St. Paul having speech concerning the heathen, saith of them, "They are a law unto themselves." His meaning is, that by force of the light of reason wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the world, men being enabled to know truth from falsehood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the will of God is; which will himself not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by natural discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seem the makers of those laws which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them out. A law therefore generally taken is a directive rule unto goodness of operation. The rule of Divine operations outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own wisdom set down within himself. The rule of natural agents that work by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisdom of God, known to God himself the principal director of them, but not to them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of natural agents which work after a sort of their own accord, as the beasts do, is the judg-

Rom. ii. 14.

[a] Ἡ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει. Arist. Rhet. l. i. c. 39.

[b] Non potest error contingere, ubi omnes idem opinantur. Monticat. in 1. Polit. Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius speciei communiter inest, id causam communem habeat oportet, quæ est eorum individuorum species et natura. *Idem.* Quod a tota aliqua specie fit, universalis particularisque naturæ fit instinctu. Ficin. de Christ. Rel. Si proficere cupis, primo firme id verum puta, quod sana mens omnium hominum attestatur. Cusa in Compend. cap. 1. Non licet naturale universaleque hominum judicium falsum vanumque existimare. Teles. Ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. Ὁ δὲ ἀναιρῶν ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. Arist. Eth. lib. x. cap. 2.

ment of common sense or fancy concerning the sensible goodness of those objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghostly or immaterial natures, as spirits and angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgment concerning the amiable beauty and high goodness of that object which with unspeakable joy and delight doth set them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the sentence that reason giveth concerning the goodness of those things which they are to do. And the sentences which reason giveth are some more, some less general, before it come to define in particular actions what is good. The main principles of reason are in themselves apparent: for to make nothing evident of itself unto man's understanding, were to take away all possibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of Theophrastus is true, "They that seek a reason of all things do utterly overthrow reason."[a] In every kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed the mind doth presently embrace them as free from all possibility of error, clear and manifest without proof. In which kind of axioms or principles more general, are such as this, That the greater good is to be chosen before the less. If therefore it should be demanded, what reason there is why the will of man, which doth necessarily shun harm, and covet whatsoever is pleasant and sweet, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sin gall; and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith virtuous actions are compassed, yet still to rejoice and delight in them: surely this could never stand with reason; but that wisdom thus prescribing groundeth her laws upon an infallible rule of comparison, which is, that small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue, and on the side momentary benefits when the hurt which they draw after them is unspeakable, are not at all to be respected. This rule is the ground whereupon the wisdom of the apostle buildeth a law enjoining patience unto himself, "The present lightness of our affliction worketh unto us, even with abundance upon abundance, an eternal weight of glory; while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal:" therefore Christianity is to be embraced, whatsoever calamities in those times it was accompanied withal. On the same ground our Saviour

2 Cor. iv. 17.

[a] Ἁπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. Theoph. in Metaph.

proveth the law most reasonable, that forbids those crimes which men for gain's sake fall into. For a man to win the world, if it be with the loss of his soul, what benefit or good is it? Axioms less general, yet so manifest that they need no farther proof, are such as these, "God to be worshipped; parents to be honoured; others to be used by us, as we ourselves would be by them." Such things, as soon they are alleged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or farther discourse to be assured of their goodness. Notwithstanding whatsoever such principle there is, it was at the first found out by discourse, and drawn from out of the very bowels of heaven and earth. For we are to note, that things in the world are to us discernible, not only so far forth as serveth for our vital preservation, but farther also in a twofold higher respect. For, first, if all other uses were utterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature speculative and delighted with contemplation in itself, they were to be known even for mere knowledge and understanding's sake. Yea, farther besides this, the knowledge of every the least thing in the world hath in it a second peculiar benefit unto us, inasmuch as it serveth to minister rules, canons, and laws, for men to direct those actions by, which we properly term human. This did the very heathens themselves obscurely insinuate, by making Themis, which we call *jus* or right, to be the daughter of heaven and earth. We know things either as they are in themselves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference unto himself, and other things in relation unto man, I may justly term the mother of all those principles, which are as it were edicts, statutes, and decrees, in that law of nature, whereby human actions are framed. First, therefore, having observed that the best things, where they are not hindered, do still produce the best operations (for which cause, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the best is in all congruity of reason to guide the residue, that it prevailing most, the work principally done by it may have greatest perfection); when hereupon we come to observe in ourselves, of what excellency our souls are, in comparison of our bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baser of our souls; seeing that all these concur in producing human actions, it cannot be well, unless the chiefest do command and direct the rest. The soul then ought to conduct the body; and the spirit

Matt. xvi. 26.

Arist. Polit. l. cap. 5.

of our minds the soul. This is, therefore, the first law, whereby the highest power of the mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the rest concurring with it unto action. Touching the several grand mandates, which being imposed by the understanding faculty of the mind must be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the same method found out, whether they import our duty towards God or towards man. Touching the one, I may not here stand to open, by what degrees of discourse the minds, even of mere natural men have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but also what power, force, wisdom, and other properties, that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore presupposed, from that known relation which God hath unto us as unto children,[a] and unto all good things as unto effects, whereof himself is the principal cause,[b] these axioms and laws natural concerning our duty have arisen, "That in all things we go about, his aid is by prayer to be craved:"[c] that he cannot have sufficient honour done unto him; but the uttermost of that we can do to honour him, we must;"[d] which is in effect the same that we read, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" which law our Saviour doth term "the first, and the great commandment."[f] Touching the next, which, as our Saviour addeth, is like unto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, inasmuch as it is the root out of which all laws of duty to menward have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God), the like natural inducement hath brought men to know that it is their duty no less to love others than themselves. For seeing those things which are equal must needs all have one measure; if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every man's hand as any man can wish unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: so that if I do harm, I must look to

Deut. vi. 5.

Matt. xxii. 38.

[a] Οὐδεὶς Θεὸς δύστους ἀνθρώποις. Plat. in Theæt.

[b] Ὅτι γὰρ Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχήτις. Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 2.

[c] Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτό γε δὲ πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος, θεὸν ἀεί που καλοῦσι. Plat. in Tim.

[d] Arist. Ethic. lib. viii. cap. ult.

suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me, than they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between ourselves, and them that are as ourselves, what several rules and canons natural reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, "That because we would take no harm, we must therefore do none; that sith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we must ourselves avoid all extremity in our dealings; that from all violence and wrong we are utterly to abstain,"[a] with such-like; which farther to wade in would be tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two general heads already mentioned all other specialities are dependant.[b] Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our doings, is the sentence of reason determining and setting down what is good to be done. Which sentence is either mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissive, declaring only what may be done; or thirdly, admonitory, opening what is the most convenient for us to do. The first taketh place where the comparison doth stand altogether between doing and not doing of one thing, which in itself is absolutely good or evil; as it had been for Joseph to yield or not to yield to the impotent desire of his lewd mistress, the one evil, the other good simply. The second is, when of divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one; which one, saving only in case of so great urgency, were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter of divorce amongst the Jews. The last, when of divers things good, one is principal and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and laid the price at the apostles' feet; which possessions they might have retained unto themselves without sin: again, in the apostle St. Paul's own choice, to maintain himself by his own labour; whereas in living by the church's maintenance, as others did, there had been no offence committed. In goodness therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it

Gen. xxxix. 9.

Mark x. 4.

Acts iv. 37. v. 4.

2 Thess. iii. 8.

[a] Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse. Lib. in arenam C. de inof. test.—Quod quisque juris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem uti debere. Lib. quod quisque.—Ab omni penitus injuria atque vi abstinendum. Lib. i. sect. 1. Quod vi, aut clam.

[b] On these two commandments hangeth the whole law. Matt. xxii. 40.

cometh to pass, that even of good actions some are better than other some; whereas otherwise one man could not excel another; but all should be either absolutely good, as jumping hit that indivisible point or centre wherein goodness consisteth; or else missing it, they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the seldomness and oftenness of doing well. But the nature of goodness being thus ample, a law is properly that which reason in such sort defineth to be good that it must be done. And the law of reason or human nature is that which men by discourse of natural reason have rightly found out themselves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. Laws of reason have these marks to be known by: such as keep them resemble most lively in their voluntary actions that very manner of working which nature herself doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole world. The works of nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without superfluity or defect; even so theirs, if they be framed according to that which the law of reason teacheth. Secondly, those laws are investigable by reason, without the help of revelation, supernatural and Divine. Finally, in such sort they are investigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the world hath always been acquainted with them; according to that which one in Sophocles observeth, concerning a branch of this law; "it is no child of to-day's, or yesterday's birth, but hath been no man knoweth how long sithence."[a] It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or few, but by all. Which we may not so understand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confess whatsoever the law of reason doth contain: but this law is such, that being proposed, no man can reject it as unreasonable and unjust. Again, there is nothing in it, but any man (having natural perfection of wit, and ripeness of judgment) may by labour and travail find out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are such, as it is not easy to find men ignorant of them. Law rational, therefore, which men commonly use to call the law of nature, meaning thereby the law which human nature knoweth itself in reason universally bound unto, which also for that cause may be termed, most fitly, the law of reason; this law, I say, comprehendeth

[a] Οὐ γάρ τι νῦν τε κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
Ζῇ τοῦτο, κ' οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη. Soph. Auri.

all those things which men by the light of their natural understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be beseeming or unbeseeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil, for them to do. Now although it be true, which some have said, that whatsoever is done amiss, the law of nature and reason thereby is transgressed, because even those offences which are by their special qualities breaches of supernatural laws, do also for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of reason, which willeth universally to fly from evil; yet do we not therefore so far extend the law of reason, as to contain in it all manner of laws whereunto reasonable creatures are bound, but (as hath been shewn) we restrain it to those only duties, which all men by force of natural wit either do, or might understand to be such duties as concern all men. "Certain half-waking men there are (as St. Augustine noteth), who neither altogether asleep in folly, nor yet thoroughly awake in the light of true understanding, have thought that there is not at all any thing just and righteous in itself; but look wherewith nations are inured, the same they take to be right and just. Whereupon their conclusion is, that seeing each sort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of its own nature, must be every where one and the same; therefore in itself there is nothing right. These good folks (saith he, that I may not trouble their wits with the rehearsal of too many things) have not looked so far into the world as to perceive that, 'Do as thou wouldst be done unto,' is a sentence which all nations under heaven are agreed upon. Refer this sentence to the love of God, and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes; refer it to the love of thy neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it banisheth out of the world." Wherefore, as touching the law of reason, this was (it seemeth) St. Augustine's judgment; namely, that there are in it some things which stand as principles universally agreed upon; and that out of those principles which are in themselves evident, the greatest moral duties we owe towards God and man may without any great difficulty be concluded: if then it be here demanded by what means it should come to pass (the greatest part of the law moral being so easy for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstand-

[a] Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art 3. Omnia peccata sunt in universum contra rationem et naturæ legem. Aug. de Civit. Dei, 1. xxii. cap. 1. Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est. De Doct. Chr. lib. iii. c. 14.

ing have been ignorant, even of principal moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sin: I deny not but lewd and wicked customs, beginning perhaps at the first among few, afterward spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force even in plain things to smother the light of natural understanding, because men will not bend their wits to examine whether things wherewith they have been accustomed be good or evil. For example's sake, that grosser kind of heathenish idolatry, whereby they worshipped the very works of their own hands, was an absurdity to reason so palpable, that the prophet David comparing idols and idolaters together, maketh almost no odds between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and sense as the other; "they that make them are like unto them, and so are all that trust in them." That wherein an idolater doth seem so absurd and foolish, is by the wise man thus expressed, "He is not ashamed to speak unto that which hath no life: he calleth on him that is weak for health; he prayeth for life unto him which is dead: of him which hath no experience, he requireth help: for his journey he sueth to him which is not able to go: for gain, and work, and success in his affairs, he seeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power." The cause of which senseless stupidity is afterward imputed to custom: "When a father mourneth grievously for his son that was taken away suddenly, he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he worshipped as a god, ordaining to his servants ceremonies and sacrifices." Thus by process of time this wicked custom prevailed, and was kept as a law; the authority of rulers, the ambition of craftsmen, and such-like means, thrusting forward the ignorant, and increasing their superstition. Unto this which the wise man hath spoken, somewhat besides may be added. For whatsoever we have hitherto taught, or shall hereafter, concerning the force of man's natural understanding, this we always desire withal to be understood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence of that supreme cause of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cause God in his justice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow than that which the apostle noteth, even men endued with the light of reason to walk notwithstanding "in the vanity of their mind, having their cogitations

Psal. cxxxv. 18.

Wisd. xiii. 17.

Wisd. xiv. 12.

Ephes. iv. 17.

darkened, and being strangers from the life of God, through the ignorance which is in them, because of the hardness of their hearts." And this cause is mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, speaking of the ignorance of idolaters, who see not how the manifest law of reason condemneth their gross iniquity and sin; they have not in them, saith he, so much wit as to think, "shall I bow to the stock of a tree? All knowledge and understanding is taken from them; for God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see." That which we say in this case of idolatry serveth for all other things, wherein the like kind of general blindness hath prevailed against the manifest laws of reason. Within the compass of which laws we do not only comprehend whatsoever may be easily known to belong to the duty of all men, but even whatsoever may possibly be known to be of that quality, so that the same be by necessary consequence deduced out of clear and manifest principles. For if once we descend unto probable collections what is convenient for men, we are then in the territory where free and arbitrary determinations, the territory where human laws take place, which laws are after to be considered.

Isa. xliv. 18, 19.

9. Now the due observation of this law which reason teacheth us, cannot but be effectual unto their great good who observe the same. For we see the whole world and each part thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things, and also itself. Contrariwise, let any principal thing, as the sun, the moon, any one of the heavens or elements, but once cease, or fail, or swerve, and who doth not easily conceive that the sequel thereof would be ruin both to itself and whatsoever dependeth on it? And is it possible, that man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but even a very world in himself, his transgressing the law of his nature should draw no manner of harm after it? Yes, "tribulation and anguish unto every soul that doeth evil." Good doth follow unto all things by observing the course of their nature, and on the contrary side evil by not observing it; but not unto natural agents that good which we call reward, not that evil which we properly term punishment. The reason whereof is, because amongst creatures in this world, only man's observation of the law of his nature is righteousness, only man's trangression sin.

The benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.

Rom. ii. 9.

And the reason of this is, the difference in his manners of observing or transgressing the law of his nature. He doth not otherwise than voluntarily the one or the other. What we do against our wills, or constrainedly, we are not properly said to do it, because the motive-cause of doing it is not in ourselves, but carrieth us (as if the wind should drive a feather in the air), we no whit farthering that whereby we are driven. In such cases therefore the evil which is done moveth compassion: men are pitied for it, as being rather miserable in such respect than culpable. Some things are likewise done by man, though not through outward force and impulsion, though not against, yet without their wills; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inevitable utter absence of wit and judgment. For which cause, no man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious men and innocents to be punishable. Again, some things we do neither against nor without, and yet not simply and merely with our wills, but with our wills in such sort moved, that albeit there be no impossibility but that we might, nevertheless we are not so easily able to do otherwise. In this consideration, one evil deed is made more pardonable than another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwithstanding by so much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of so doing, or the difficulty of doing otherwise, is greater; unless this necessity or difficulty have originally risen from ourselves. It is no excuse therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth incest, and allegeth that his wits were not his own; inasmuch as himself might have chosen, whether his wits should by that means have been taken from him. Now rewards and punishments do always presuppose something willingly done well or ill; without which respect, though we may sometimes receive good or harm, yet then the one is only a benefit and not a reward, the other simply a hurt not a punishment. From the sundry dispositions of man's will, which is the root of all his actions, there groweth variety in the sequel of rewards and punishments, which are by these and the like rules measured: "Take away the will, and all acts are equal: that which we do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done."[a] By these and the like rules, men's actions are determined of and judged, whether they be in their own nature

[a] Voluntate sublata, omnem actum parem esse. lib. fœdissimam de adult.—Bonam voluntatem plerumque pro facto reputari. l. si quis in Testament.

rewardable or punishable. Rewards and punishments are not received, but at the hands of such as being above us have power to examine and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority one over another in external actions, we shall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so much all do acknowledge, that since every man's heart and conscience doth in good or evil, even secretly committed and known to none but itself, either like or disallow itself, and accordingly either rejoice, very nature exulting, as it were, in certain hope of reward, or else grieve, as it were, in a sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this case be looked for from any other, saving only from him who discerneth and judgeth the very secrets of all hearts: therefore he is the only rewarder and revenger of all such actions; although not of such actions only, but of all, whereby the law of nature is broken whereof himself is author. For which cause, the Roman laws, called the laws of the twelve tables, requiring offices of inward affection which the eye of man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but Divine punishment.[a]

How reason doth lead men unto the making of human law whereby politic societies are governed, and to agreement about laws whereby the fellowship or communion of independent society standeth.

10. That which hitherto we have set down, is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishness, which imagine that religion and virtue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm unto ourselves, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We see then how nature itself teacheth laws and statutes to live by.[b] The laws, which have been hitherto mentioned, do bind men absolutely, even as they are men, although they have never any settled fellowship, never any solemn agreement amongst themselves what to do, or not to do. But forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living single and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others. This was the cause of men's uniting themselves at the first in politic societies which societies could not be without government, nor government

[a] Divos caste adeunto, pietatem adhibento: qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit.

[b] Ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μαντεύσταί τι πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη. Arist. Rhet. 1.

without a distinct kind of law from that which hath been already declared. Two foundations there are which bear up public societies; the one a natural inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other an order expressly or secretly agreed upon, touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the law of a commonweal, the very soul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by law animated, held together, and set on work in such actions as the common good requireth. Laws politic, ordained for external order and regiment amongst men, are never framed as they should be, unless presuming the will of man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the sacred laws of his nature: in a word, unless presuming man to be, in regard of his depraved mind, little better than a wild beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions that they be no hindrance unto the common good for which societies are instituted; unless they do this, they are not perfect. It resteth therefore, that we consider how nature findeth out such laws of government as serve to direct, even nature depraved, to a right end. All men desire to lead in this world a happy life: that life is led most happily, wherein all virtue is exercised without impediment or let. The apostle, in exhorting men to contentment, although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to understand, that those are even the lowest of things necessary; that if we should be stripped of all those things without which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these is such an impediment, as till it be removed, suffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cause, first God assigned Adam maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to observe: for this cause after men began to grow to a number, the first thing we read they gave themselves unto, was the tilling of the earth and the feeding of cattle. Having by this means whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward are noted by the exercise of their religion. True it is, that the kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires. But inasmuch as a righteous life presupposeth life; inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible except we live; therefore the first impediment which naturally we endeavour to remove is penury and want

1 Tim. vi. 8.

Gen. i. 29. ii. 17. iv. 2. iv. 26.

Matt. vi. 33.

of things without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are necessary; more if we seek (as all men naturally do) such a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, and pleasure. To this end we see how quickly sundry arts mechanical were found out in the very prime of the world. As things of greatest necessity are always first provided for, so things of greatest dignity are most accounted of by all such as judge rightly. Although, therefore, riches be a thing which every man wisheth, yet no man of judgment can esteem it better to be rich, than wise, virtuous, and religious. If we be both or either of these, it is not because we are so born: for into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as we are in body. Both which necessities of man had at the first no other helps and supplies than only domestical; such as that which the prophet implieth, saying, "Can a mother forget her child?" such as that which the apostle mentioneth, saying, "He that careth not for his own is worse than an infidel:" such as that concerning Abraham, "Abraham will command his sons and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord." But neither that which we learn of ourselves, nor that which others teach us, can prevail, where wickedness and malice have taken deep root. If, therefore, when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of instruction, human or Divine, could prevent effusion of blood; how could it be chosen, but that when families were multiplied and increased upon earth, after separation, each providing for itself, envy, strife, contention, and violence, must grow amongst them? For hath not nature furnished man with wit and valour, as it were with armour, which may be used as well unto extreme evil as good? Yea, were they not used by the rest of the world unto evil? unto the contrary only by Seth, Enoch, and those few, the rest in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times, not unjustly, for the days are evil: but compare them with those times wherein there were no civil societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment established, with those times wherein there were not above eight righteous persons living upon the face of the earth; and we have surely good cause to think that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold most happy days. To take away all such mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way

Gen. iv. 20—22.
Isa. xlix. 15.
1 Tim. v. 8.
Gen. xviii. 19.
Gen. iv. 8.
Gen. vi. 5.
Gen. v.
2 Pet. ii. 5.

but only by growing unto composition and agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kind of government public, and by yielding themselves subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy estate, of the rest might be procured. Men always knew, that when force and injury were offered, they might be defenders of themselves; they knew, that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others it was not to be suffered, but by all men, and by all good means to be withstood: finally, they knew that no man might in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial; and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon. Without which consent there were no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because although there be, according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men, a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless, for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary. To fathers within their private families, nature hath given a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the world, even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken as lords and lawful kings in their own houses. Howbeit, over a whole grand multitude, having no such dependency upon any one, and consisting of so many families, as every politic society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should have complete lawful power but by consent of men, or immediate appointment of God; because not having the natural superiority of fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, and then unlawful; or if lawful, then either granted or consented unto by them over whom they exercise the same, or else given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the world is subject. It is no improbable opinion, therefore, which the arch philosopher was of, that as the chiefest person in every household was always as it were a king, so when numbers of households joined themselves in civil societies together, kings were the

Arist. Polit. lib. iii. iv.

ist. Polit. . i. cap. 3. le et Pla- iem in de gibus.

first kind of governors amongst them. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason why the name of father continued still in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as also the ancient custom of governors to do as Melchisedec, and being kings to exercise the office of priests, which fathers did at the first, grew perhaps by the same occasion; howbeit, this is not the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the world. The inconveniences of one kind have caused sundry other to be devised. So that, in a word, all public regiment, of what kind soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate advice, consultation, and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny, but that the law of nature doth now require of necessity some kind of regiment; so that to bring things unto the first course they were in, and utterly to take away all kind of public government in the world, were apparently to overturn the whole world. The case of man's nature standing therefore as it doth, some kind of regiment the law of nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first, when some certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then farther thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule;[a] till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so, as the thing which they had devised for a remedy, did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will, became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them.[b] If things be simply good or evil, and withal universally so acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for such things. The first kind therefore of things appointed by laws human containeth whatsoever

[a] Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis, qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præstantem, qui cum prohiberet injuria tenuiores, æquitate constituenda summos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventæ. Cic. Offic. lib. ii. Τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὐποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ προστάττουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἃ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀγράφῳ καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. Arist. Rhet. ad Alex.

[b] Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut et ignorantiam protulit in occasionem, et conscientiam corrumpat in dissimulationem. Tertul. lib. de spectacul

being in itself naturally good or evil, is notwithstanding more secret than that it can be discerned by every man's present conceit, without some deeper discourse and judgment. In which discourse, because there is difficulty, and possibility many ways to err, unless such things were set down by laws, many would be ignorant of their duties, which now are not; and many that know what they should do would nevertheless dissemble it, and to excuse themselves pretend ignorance and simplicity, which now they cannot. And because the greatest part of men are such as prefer their own private good before all things, even that good which is sensual before whatsoever is most Divine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleasure arising from the contrary, doth make men for the most part slower to the one and proner to the other, than that duty prescribed them by law can prevail sufficiently with them; therefore unto laws that men do make for the benefit of men, it hath seemed always needful to add rewards, which may more allure unto good, than any hardness deterreth from it; and punishments which may more deter from evil, than any sweetness thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is natural, *virtue rewardable, and vice punishable;* so the particular determination of the reward or punishment belongeth unto them by whom laws are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kind of punishment is positive; and such lawful as men shall think with discretion convenient by law to appoint. In laws, that which is natural bindeth universally; that which is positive, not so. To let go those positive kind of laws which men impose upon themselves, as by vow unto God, contract with men, or such-like; somewhat it will make unto our purpose, a little more fully to consider what things are incident unto the making of the positive laws for the government of them that live united in public society. Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoin it, they have in them a certain constraining force; and to constrain men unto any thing inconvenient, doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite, therefore, it is, that to devise laws which all men shall be forced to obey, none but wise men be admitted. Laws are matters of principal consequence; men of common capacity, and but ordinary judgment, are not able (for how should they?) to discern what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience unto *laws* dependeth upon this point. Let a man, though never

so justly, oppose himself unto them that are disordered in their ways; and what one among them commonly doth not stomach at such contradiction, storm at reproof, and hate such as would reform them? Notwithstanding, even they which brook it worst that men should tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by law, think very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the law doth speak with all indifferency; that the law hath no side respect to their persons; that the law is as it were an oracle proceeding from wisdom and understanding. Howbeit, laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of such as devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of laws. That which we spake before, concerning the power of government, must here be applied unto the power of making laws whereby to govern, which power God hath over all: and by the natural law, whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws, to command whole politic societies of men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny. Laws they are not therefore which public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent, by voice, sign, or act; but also when others do it in their names, by right, originally at the least, derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed, no less effectually to bind us than if ourselves had done it in person. In many things assent is given, they that give it not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute monarch commandeth his subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion; hath not his edict the force of a law whether they approve or dislike it? Again, that which hath been received long sithence, and is by custom now established, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet, what consent was ever thereunto

sought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men; therefore, utterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part, hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement. Wherefore, as any man's deed past is good as long as himself continueth; so the act of a public society of men done five hundred years sithence, standeth as theirs who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortal; we were then alive in our predecessors, and they in their successors do live still. Laws therefore human, of what kind soever, are available by consent. If here it be demanded, how it comes to pass that this being common unto all laws which are made, there should be found even in good laws so great variety as there is, we must note the reason hereof to be, the sundry particular ends whereunto the different disposition of that subject or matter for which laws are provided, causeth them to have a special respect in making laws. A law there is mentioned amongst the Grecians, whereof Pittacus is reported to have been author; and by that law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much as if he had done the same being sober. No man could ever have thought this reasonable, that had intended thereby only to punish the injury committed according to the gravity of the fact: for who knoweth not, that harm advisedly done is naturally less pardonable, and therefore worthy of sharper punishment? But forasmuch as none did so usually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, even because they would be so much the more freely outrageous; it was for their public good, where such disorder was grown, to frame a positive law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain those known laws of making laws; as that law-makers must have an eye to that place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kind of laws cannot serve for all kind of regiment; that where the multitude beareth sway, laws that shall tend to the preservation of that state must make common smaller offices to go by lot, for fear of strife and division likely to arise; by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for discharge of such

Arist. Polit. lib. ii. cap. ult.

offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, and not missed without grudge and discontentment; whereas at an uncertain lot, none can find themselves grieved, on whomsoever it lighteth: contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to pass by popular election, that neither the people may envy such as have those honours, inasmuch as themselves bestow them, and that the chiefest may be kindled with desire to exercise all parts of rare and beneficial virtue; knowing they shall not lose their labour by growing in fame and estimation amongst the people. If the helm of chief government be in the hands of a few of the wealthiest, that then laws providing for continuance thereof must make the punishment of contumely and wrong, offered unto any of the common sort, sharp and grievous; that so the evil may be prevented whereby the rich are most likely to bring themselves into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take so great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their persons are contumeliously trodden upon. In other kinds of regiment, the like is observed concerning the difference of positive laws, which to be every where the same is impossible, and against their nature. Now as the learned in the laws of this land observe, that our statutes sometimes are only the affirmation or ratification of that which by common law was held before; so here it is not to be omitted, that generally all laws human which are made for the ordering of politic societies, be either such as establish some duty, whereunto all men by the law of reason did before stand bound; or else such as make that a duty now, which before was none: the one sort we may for distinction's sake call mixedly, and the other merely human. That which plain or necessary reason bindeth men unto, may be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by human law. For example, if confusion of blood in marriage, the liberty of having many wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreasonable custom, doth happen to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper hand of right reason with the greatest part; so that no way is left to rectify such foul disorder without prescribing by law the same things which reason necessarily doth enforce, but is not perceived that so it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the apostle did lament in some, concerning whom he writeth, saying, that "even what things they naturally know, in those

Stamdf. Preface to the Pleas of the Crown.

Jude 10.

very things, as beasts void of reason, they corrupted themselves:" or if there be no such special accident, yet forasmuch as the common sort are led by the sway of their sensual desires, and therefore do more shun sin for the sensible evils which follow it amongst men than for any kind of sentence which reason doth pronounce against it: this very thing is cause sufficient, why duties belonging unto each kind of virtue, albeit the law of reason teach them, should notwithstanding be prescribed even by human law. Which law in this case we term mixed, because the matter whereunto it bindeth is the same which reason necessarily doth require at our hands, and from the law of reason it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas men before stood bound in conscience to do as the law of reason teacheth; they are now by virtue of human law become constrainable, and if they outwardly transgress, punishable. As for laws which are merely human, the matter of them is any thing which reason doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; so that till such time as law hath passed amongst men about it, of itself it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this; lands are by human law in some places, after the owner's decease, divided unto all his children; in some, all descend to the eldest son. If the law of reason did necessarily require but the one of these two to be done, they which by law have received the other, should be subject to that heavy sentence which denounceth against all that decree wicked, unjust, and unreasonable things, *woe*. Whereas now, whichsoever be received, there is no law of reason transgressed; because there is probable reason why either of them may be expedient; and for either of them more than probable reason there is not to be found laws, whether mixedly or merely human, are made by politic societies; some only, as those societies are civilly united; some, as they are spiritually joined, and make such a body as we call the church. Of laws human in this latter kind, we are to speak in the third book following. Let it therefore suffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciously endued our nature, and thereby enabled the same to find out both those laws which all men generally are for ever bound to observe; and also such as are most fit for their behoof, who

Isaiah x. 1.

[a] Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πειθαρχοῦσι καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῷ καλῷ. Arist. Eth. lib. x. cap. 10.

lead their lives in any ordered state of government. Now besides that law which simply concerneth men, as men; and that which belongeth unto them, as they are men linked with others in some form of politic society, there is a third kind of law which toucheth all such several bodies politic, so far forth as one of them hath public commerce with another. And this third is, the law of nations. Between men and beasts there is no possibility of sociable communion, because the well-spring of that communion is a natural delight which man hath to transfuse from himself into others, and to receive from others into himself, especially those things wherein the excellency of his kind doth most consist. The chiefest instrument of human communion therefore is speech, because thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reasonable understanding. And for that cause, seeing beasts are not hereof capable, forasmuch as with them we can use no such conference, they being in degree, although above other creatures on earth, to whom nature hath denied sense, yet lower than to be sociable companions of man, to whom nature hath given reason; it is of Adam said, that amongst the beasts "he found not for himself any meet companion." Civil society doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of solitary living; because in society this good of mutual participation is so much larger than otherwise. Herewith notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of society and fellowship even with all mankind. Which thing Socrates intending to signify, professed himself a citizen, not of this or that commonwealth, but of the world. And an effect of that very natural desire in us (a manifest token that we wish, after a sort, a universal fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, some to visit foreign countries, some to discover nations not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yet to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for traffic's sake, or to the end that when many are confederated, each may make other the more strong; but for such cause also as moved the queen of Sheba to visit Solomon; and in a word, because nature doth presume, that how many men there are in the world, so many gods, as it were, there are; or at leastwise such they should be towards men. Touching laws which are to serve men in this behalf;

Arist. Polit. i. cap. 2.

Gen. ii. 20.

Cic. Tusc. v. et i. de. Legib.

1 Kings x. 1. 2 Chron. ix. 1. Matt. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31.

even as those laws of reason, which (man retaining his original integrity) had been sufficient to direct each particular person in all his affairs and duties, are not sufficient, but require the access of other laws now, that man and his offspring are grown thus corrupt and sinful: again, as those laws, of polity and regiment, which would have served men living in public society together with that harmless disposition which then they should have had, are not able now to serve, when men's iniquity is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds; in like manner, the national laws of natural commerce between societies of that former and better quality might have been other than now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of these three kinds, that distinction between primary and secondary laws; the one grounded upon sincere, the other built upon depraved nature. Primary laws of nations are such as concern embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of foreigners and strangers, such as serve for commodious traffic, and the like. Secondary laws in the same kind, are such as this present unquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with; I mean laws of arms, which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the law of nations doth contain, I omit to search. The strength and virtue of that law are such that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the same by any their several laws and ordinances, more than a man, by his private resolutions, the law of the whole commonwealth or state wherein he liveth. For as civil law being the act of the whole body politic, doth therefore overrule each several part of the same body; so there is no reason that any one commonwealth of itself should, to the prejudice of another, annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cause, the Lacedemonians forbidding all access of strangers into their coasts, are in that respect both by Josephus and Theodoret deservedly blamed, as being enemies to that hospitality which for common humanity's sake all the nations on earth should embrace. Now as there is great cause of communion, and consequently of laws, for the maintenance of communion amongst nations; so amongst nations Christian, the like in regard even of Christianity hath been always judged needful. And in this kind of correspondence amongst nations the force of general councils doth stand. For as

Joseph. lib. i. contra Apion. Theod. lib. x. de sanand. Græc. Affec.

one and the same law Divine, whereof in the next place we are to speak, is unto all Christian churches a rule for the chiefest things; by means whereof they all in that respect make one church, as having all but "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism:" so the urgent necessity of mutual communion for preservation of our unity in these things, as also for order in some other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requisite that the church of God here on earth have her laws of spiritual commerce between Christian nations; laws by virtue whereof all churches may enjoy freely the use of those reverend, religious, and sacred consultations, which are termed councils general: a thing whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author; a thing practised by the holy apostles themselves; a thing always afterward kept and observed throughout the world; a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny began, by factious and vile endeavours, to abuse that Divine intention unto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the just authority of civil courts and parliaments is not therefore to be abolished, because sometimes there is cunning used to frame them according to the private intents of men over potent in the commonwealth; so the grievous abuse which hath been of councils, should rather cause men to study how so gracious a thing may again be reduced to that first perfection, than in regard of stains and blemishes sithence growing, be held for ever in extreme disgrace. To speak of this matter as the cause requireth, would require very long discourse. All I will presently say is this, whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto Divine law bindeth us, but yet in such sort, that men are not thereof on all sides resolved; or for the setting down of some uniform judgment to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessity, are notwithstanding offensive and scandalous, when there is open opposition about them; be it for the ending of strifes, touching matters of Christian belief, wherein the one part may seem to have probable cause of dissenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of polity, order, and regiment, in the church; I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselves to those heavenly precepts which our Lord and Saviour with so great instancy gave, as concerning peace

Ephes. iv. 5.

Acts xv. 28.

John xiv. 27.

and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renewed, rather than these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endless, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worst, which is by sword. It followeth therefore, that a new foundation being laid, we now adjoin hereunto that which cometh in the next place to be spoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himself by Scripture made known such laws as serve for direction of men.

herefore d hath Scrip- e farther de known h super- ural s, as serve for s di- tion.

11. All things (God only excepted), besides the nature which they have in themselves, receive externally some perfection from other things, as hath been shewed. Insomuch, as there is in the whole world no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of use, it may unto our perfection add somewhat. And whatsoever such perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the same we properly term our good, our sovereign good or blessedness; that wherein the highest degree of all our perfection consisteth, that which being once attained unto, there can rest nothing farther to be desired; and therefore with it our souls are fully content and satisfied, in that they have they rejoice, and thirst for no more. Wherefore of good things desired, some are such, that for themselves we covet them not, but only because they serve as instruments unto that for which we are to seek: of this sort are riches. Another kind there is, which although we desire for itself, as health, and virtue, and knowledge; nevertheless, they are not the last mark whereat we aim, but have their farther end whereunto they are referred: so as in them we are not satisfied, as having attained the utmost we may, but our desires do still proceed. These things are linked, and as it were chained one to another. We labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is as seed sown with reference unto a future harvest:[a] but we must come at length to some pause. For if every thing were to be desired for some other, without any stint, there could be no certain end proposed unto our actions, we should go on we know not whither: yea, whatsoever we do were in vain, or rather nothing at all were possible to be done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being were to annihilate utterly our

[a] He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. Gal. vi. 8.

persons: so we cannot remove the last final cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for itself simply, and for no other: that is, simply for itself desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation to any other. The ox and the ass desire their food, neither propose they unto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for itself. But why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it; whereas that which is desired simply for itself, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred unto a farther end. Now that which man doth desire, with reference to a farther end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient; but what he coveteth as good in itself, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all, which is desired altogether for itself, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end; even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honour, or pleasure, or any thing here attained, because in desiring any thing as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss. Nothing may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite: for the better, the more desirable; that therefore is most desirable wherein there is infinity of goodness: so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God; therefore he is our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unless they enjoy the things wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enjoy God as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied even with everlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being unto God united, we live as it were the life of God. Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in

Vide Arist. Ethic. lib. x. c. 10. et Metaph. l. xii. c. 6. et c. 4. et c. 30.

the world, we are subject unto sundry imperfections,[a] grief of body, defects of mind; yea, the best things we do are painful, and the exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist; forced we are with very weariness, and that often, to interrupt them: which tediousness cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of bliss, when our union with God is complete. Complete union with him must be according unto every power and faculty of our minds, apt to receive so glorious an object. Capable we are of God, both by understanding and will: by understanding, as he is that sovereign truth which comprehends the rich treasures of all wisdom: by will, as he is that sea of goodness whereof whoso tasteth shall thirst no more. As the will doth now work upon that object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained, so likewise upon the same hereafter received it shall work also by love. "Appetitus inhiantis sit amor fruentis, (saith St. Augustine)—the longing disposition of them that thirst, is changed into the sweet affection of them that taste and are replenished." Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good especially in respect of benefit unto us; we shall then love the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodness of beauty in itself; the soul being in this sort as it is active, perfected by love of that infinite good, shall, as it is receptive, be also perfected with those supernatural passions of joy, peace, and delight: all this endless and everlasting.[b] Which perpetuity, in regard whereof our blessedness is termed "a crown which withereth not," doth neither depend on the nature of the thing itself, nor proceed from any natural necessity that our souls should so exercise themselves for ever in beholding and loving God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it so perfected. Under man, no creature in the world is capable of felicity and bliss: first, because their chiefest perfection consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that

Aug. de Trin. lib. ix. c. ult.

2 Tim. iv. 8. 1 Pet. i. 4.

[a] Μόνον, ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ. Τὸ μὲν λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριον τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας. κἀγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς νοῦν μοι βαλόντι περὶ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεοῦ. Merc. Tris.

[b] The just shall go into life everlasting. Matt. xxv. They shall be as the angels of God. Matt. xxii.

which is simply best, as ours doth. Secondly, because whatsoever external perfection they tend unto, it is not better than themselves, as ours is. How just occasion have we therefore, even in this respect, with the prophet to admire the goodness of God? Lord, what is man, that thou shouldst exalt him above the works of thy hands, so far as to make thyself the inheritance of his rest, and the substance of his felicity? Now, if men had not naturally this desire to be happy, how were it possible that all men should have it? All men have. Therefore this desire in man is natural. It is not in our power not to do the same; how should it then be in our power to do it coldly or remissly? So that our desire being natural, is also in that degree of earnestness whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an axiom of nature, that natural desire cannot utterly be frustrate. This desire of ours being natural should be frustrate, if that which may satisfy the same were a thing impossible for man to aspire unto. Man doth seek a triple perfection; first, a sensual, consisting in those things which very life itself requireth either as necessary supplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath man is either capable of or acquainted with; lastly, a spiritual and Divine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They who make the first of these three the scope of their whole life, are said by the apostle to have no god but only their belly, to be earthly-minded men. Unto the second, they bend themselves who seek especially to excel in all such knowledge and virtue as doth most commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of moral and civil perfection. That there is somewhat higher than either of these two, no other proof doth need than the very process of man's desire, which being natural should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not seem to rest satisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserved, or with performance of such actions as advance him most deservedly in estimation; but doth farther covet, yea, oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestness, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vital use;

Psal. viii.

Comm in Prc ii. Me

Phil. iii. 19

that which exceedeth the reach of sense; yea, somewhat above capacity of reason, somewhat Divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth than conceiveth; somewhat it seeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not; yet very intentive desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other known delights and pleasures are laid aside, they give place to the search of this but only suspected desire. If the soul of man did serve only to give him being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life would content him, as we see they do other creatures; which creatures enjoying what they live by, seek no farther, but in this contentation do shew a kind of acknowledgment that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwise. For although the beauties, riches, honours, sciences, virtues, and perfections of all men living, were in the present possession of one; yet somewhat beyond and above all this, there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that nature, even in this life, doth plainly claim and call for a more Divine perfection than either of these two that have been mentioned. This last and highest state of perfection whereof we speak, is received of men in the nature of reward.[a] Rewards do always presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our natural means therefore unto blessedness, are our works; nor is it possible that nature should ever find any other way to salvation than only this. But examine the works which we do, and since the first foundation of the world what one can say, My ways are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatened eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to be saved? There resteth therefore either no way unto salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernatural, a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himself had not revealed it extraordinarily. For which cause, we term it the mystery, or secret way of salvation. And therefore St. Ambrose in this matter appealeth justly from man to God, "Cœli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignoravit:—Let God himself that made me, let not man that knows not himself, be my instructor concerning the mystical way to heaven."[b] "When men of excellent wit (saith Lactantius) had wholly

Ambros. contra Sym.

[a] Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven Matt v. 12. Summa merces est ut ipso perfruamur. Aug. de Doct. Christ. cap. 6.

betaken themselves unto study, after farewell bidden unto all kind as well of private as public action, they spared no labour that might be spent in the search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to seek and to find out the reason of all affairs, as well Divine as human, than to stick fast in the toil of piling up riches and gathering together heaps of honours. Howbeit, they did both fail of their purpose, and got not so much as to quit their charges; because truth, which is the secret of the most high God, whose proper handy-work all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our own. For God and man should be very near neighbours, if man's cogitations were able to take a survey of the counsels and appointments of that majesty everlasting. Which being utterly impossible, that the eye of man by itself should look into the bosom of Divine reason; God did not suffer him, being desirous of the light of wisdom, to stray any longer up and down, and with bootless expense of travail to wander in darkness that had no passage to get out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and bestow upon him the knowledge of the truth by way of donative, to the end that man might both be clearly convicted of folly; and being through error out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him."[a] Thus far Lactantius Firmianus, to shew, that God himself is the teacher of the truth, whereby is made known the supernatural way of salvation and law for them to live in that shall be saved. In the natural path of everlasting life the first beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the day of man's creation endued him with; from hence obedience unto the will of his Creator, absolute righteousness and integrity in all his actions; and last of all, the justice of God rewarding the worthiness of his deserts with the crown of eternal glory. Had Adam continued in his first estate, this had been the

[a] Magno et excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinæ penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus et privatis et publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium contulerunt, existimantes multo esse præclarius humana cum divinarumque rerum investigare ac scire rationem, quam struendis opibus aut rumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti sunt id quod volebant, et operam simul atque industriam perdiderunt: quia veritas, id est arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter deum hominemque distaret, si consilia et dispositiones illius majestatis æternæ cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per seipsum ratio divina notesceret, non est passus hominem deus lumen sapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, et notionem veritatis munus suum fecit, ut et humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, et erranti ac vago viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet. Lactant. lib. i. cap. 1.

way of life unto him and all his posterity. Whereas I confess notwithstanding, with the wittiest of the school-divines,[a] that if we speak of strict justice, God could no way have been bound to requite man's labours in so large and ample a manner as human felicity doth import; inasmuch as the dignity of this exceedeth so far the other's value. But be it that God of his great liberality had determined, in lieu of man's endeavours, to bestow the same, by the rule of that justice which best beseemeth him, namely, the justice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with pressed, and heaped, and even over-enlarged measure; yet could it never hereupon necessarily be gathered, that such justice should add to the nature of that reward the property of everlasting continuance; sith possession of bliss, though it should be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might still appear in so rewarding the sons of men, albeit they should exactly perform whatsoever duty their nature bindeth them unto. Howsoever God did propose this reward, we that were to be rewarded must have done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that the other should be looked for. The light of nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliss, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteousness. From salvation therefore and life, all flesh being excluded this way, behold how the wisdom of God hath revealed a way mystical and supernatural, a way directing unto the same end of life by a course which groundeth itself upon the guiltiness of sin, and through sin desert of condemnation and death. For in this way, the first thing is the tender compassion of God respecting us drowned and swallowed up in misery; the next is redemption out of the same by the precious death and merit of a mighty Saviour, which hath witnessed of himself, saying, "I am the way," the way that leadeth us from misery into bliss. This supernatural way had God in himself prepared before all worlds. The way of super-

John xiv. 6.

[a] Scot. lib. iv. Sent. dist. 49. 6. Loquendo de stricta justitia, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intensæ, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed esto quod ex liberalitate sua determinasset meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem justitia qualis decet eum, scilicet supererogantis in præmiis: tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessario, quod per illam justitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium, imo abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.

natural duty which to us he hath prescribed, our Saviour in the gospel of St. John doth note, terming it by an excellency, the work of God, "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent." Not that God doth require nothing unto happiness at the hands of men saving only a naked belief (for hope and charity we may not exclude); but that without belief all other things are as nothing, and it is the ground of those other Divine virtues. Concerning faith, the principal object whereof is that eternal verity which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdom in Christ; concerning hope, the highest object whereof is that everlasting goodness which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning charity, the final object whereof is that incomprehensible beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Son of the living God: concerning these virtues, the first of which beginning here with a weak apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitive vision of God in the world to come; the second beginning here with a trembling expectation of things far removed, and as yet but only heard of, endeth with real and actual fruition of that which no tongue can express; the third beginning here with weak inclination of heart towards him unto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endless union; the mystery whereof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of men concerning that faith, hope, and charity, without which there can be no salvation; was there ever any mention made saving only in that law which God himself hath from heaven revealed? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more than hath been supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternal God. Laws therefore concerning these things are supernatural, both in respect of the manner of delivering them, which is Divine; and also in regard of the things delivered, which are such as have not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained, besides the course of nature, to rectify nature's obliquity withal.

John vi. 29.

12. When supernatural duties are necessarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needless. The law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught even with laws of nature, insomuch that Gratian,[b]

The cause why so many natural or rational law are set down in Holy Scriture.

[b] Jus naturale est, quod in Lege et Evangelio continetur p. 1. d. 1.

defining natural right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those general duties that concern men naturally even as they are men), termeth natural right, that which the books of the law and the gospel do contain. Neither is it vain that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of laws in this kind: for they are either such as we of ourselves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small to have them readily set down to our hands; or if they be so clear and manifest that no man endued with reason can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit, as it were, borrowing them from the school of nature, as serving to prove things less manifest, and to induce a persuasion of somewhat which were in itself more hard and dark, unless it should in such sort be cleared, the very applying of them unto cases particular is not without most singular use and profit, many ways for men's instruction. Besides, be they plain of themselves, or obscure, the evidence of God's own testimony, added to the natural assent of reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same. Wherefore, inasmuch as our actions are conversant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to be also of sundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done; requisite it cannot but seem the rule of Divine law should herein help our imbecility, that we might the more infallibly understand what is good, and what evil. The first principles of the law of nature are easy; hard it were to find men ignorant of them. But concerning the duty which nature's law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, so far hath the natural understanding even of sundry whole nations been darkened, that they have not discerned, no, not gross iniquity to be sin.[a] Again, being so prone as we are to fawn upon ourselves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of

[a] Joseph. lib. secundo contra Apion.—Lacedæmonii quomodo non sunt ob inhospitalitatem reprehendendi, fœdumque neglectum nuptiarum? Elienses vero et Thebæ ob coitum cum masculis plane impudentem et contra naturam, quem recte et utiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnino perpetrarunt, etiam suis legibus miscuere. Vid. Th. 12. q. 49. 4, 5, 6. Lex naturæ sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinium non reputarent peccatum. August. (aut quisquis auctor est) lib. de quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. Quis nesciat quid bonæ vitæ conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri non vult, aliis minime debeat facere? At vero ubi naturalis lex evanuit oppressa consuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifestari scriptis, ut Dei judicium omnes audirent: non quod penitus obliterata est, sed quia maxima ejus auctoritate carebat, idololatriæ studebatur, timor Dei in terris erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avida erat concupiscentia. Data ergo lex est, ut quæ sciebantur auctoritatem haberent, et quæ latere cœperant, manifestarentur.

our own deformities, without the feeling sense whereof we are most wretched; even so much the more, because not knowing them, we cannot so much as desire to have them taken away; how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath delivered a law as sharp as the two-edged sword, piercing the very closest and most unsearchable corners of the heart, which the law of nature can hardly, human laws by no means possibly reach unto? Hereby we know even secret concupiscence to be sin, and are made fearful to offend, though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impossible to be discerned by the light of nature itself; are there not many which few men's natural capacity, and some which no man's, hath been able to find out? They are, saith St. Augustine, but a few, and they endued with great ripeness of wit and judgment, free from all such affairs as might trouble their meditations, instructed in the sharpest and the subtilest points of learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to find out but only the immortality of the soul. The resurrection of the flesh what man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwise than from the school of nature? Whereby it appeareth, how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator, the Father of all mercy, eternal thanks, for that he hath delivered his law unto the world; a law wherein so many things are laid open, clear, and manifest; as a light, which otherwise would have been buried in darkness, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certain loss of infinite thousands of souls, most undoubtedly now saved. We see, therefore, that our sovereign good is desired naturally; that God, the author of that natural desire, had appointed natural means whereby to fulfil it; that man, having utterly disabled his nature unto those means, hath had other revealed from God; and hath received from heaven a law to teach him how that which is desired naturally must now supernaturally be attained. Finally, we see, that because those latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unnecessary, therefore together with such supernatural duties as could not possibly have been otherwise known to the world, the same law that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such natural duties as could not by light of nature easily have been known.

The benefit of having Divine laws written.

13. In the first age of the world God gave laws unto our fathers, and by reason of the number of their days their memories served instead of books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully relieved the same, by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoved them to be specially mindful. In which respect, we see how many times one thing hath been iterated unto sundry, even of the best and wisest amongst them. After that the lives of men were shortened, means more durable to preserve the laws of God from oblivion and corruption grew in use, not without precise direction from God himself. First therefore of Moses it is said, that he "wrote all the words of God;" not by his own private motion and device: for God taketh this act to himself, "I have written." Farthermore, were not the prophets following commanded also to do the like? Unto the holy evangelist St. John, how often express charge is given, "Scribe, write these things?" Concerning the rest of our Lord's disciples, the words of St. Augustin are, "Quicquid ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit." Now, although we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto; finally, though his laws do require at our hands the same obedience, howsoever they be delivered; his providence, notwithstanding, which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnify? The singular benefit that hath grown unto the world by receiving the laws of God, even by his own appointment committed unto writing, we are not able to esteem as the value thereof deserveth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seek for any revealed law of God otherwhere than only in the sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God, to yield to traditions urged by the church of Rome the same obedience and reverence we do to his written law, honouring equally and adoring both as Divine? Our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authority of tradition, as if nothing were more safely conveyed than that which spreadeth itself by report and descendeth by relation of former generations unto the ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they

Exod. xxiv. 4.

Hos. viii. 12.

Apoc. i. 11. xiv. 13.

Aug. lib. i. de Cons. Evan. cap. ult.

should be) so simple, as thus to persuade themselves; howsoever, if the simple were so persuaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are of this mind, consider but only that little of things Divine which the[a] heathen have in such sort received. How miserable had the state of the church of God been long ere this, if, wanting the sacred Scripture, we had no record of his laws but only the memory of man receiving the same by report and relation from his predecessors? By Scripture, it hath in the wisdom of God seemed meet to deliver unto the world much, but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unseen; many histories to serve as looking-glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousness, of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey, and honour him; yea, many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in cases of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken, to have the several books of his holy ordinance written. Be it then, that together with the principal necessary laws of God there are sundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be saved: what, shall we hereupon think them needless? shall we esteem them as riotous branches, wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant vines overgrown? Surely, no more than we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever; which if our bodies did want, we might, notwithstanding any such defect, retain still the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts whereof, though the want could not deprive him

[a] I mean those historical matters concerning the ancient state of the first world, the deluge, the sons of Noah, the children of Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, the life and doings of Moses their captain, with such-like: the certain truth whereof delivered in Holy Scripture, is of the heathen, which had them only by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to be seen, is the show of dark and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

of his essence, yet to have them standeth him in singular stead in respect of the special uses for which they serve; in like sort, all those writings which contain in them the law of God, all those venerable books of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of holy writ, they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all, if we did want it.

The sufficiency of Scripture into the end for which it was instituted.

14. Although the Scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all sorts of laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the laws of duties supernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very solemn manner disputed, whether all things necessary unto salvation be necessarily set down in the Holy Scriptures or no.[a] If we define that necessary unto salvation, whereby the way to salvation is in any sort made more plain, apparent, and easy to be known; then is there no part of true philosophy, no art of account, no kind of science, rightly so called, but the Scripture must contain it. If only those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary grant of salvation; it may be notwithstanding, and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of Holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chief is to know what books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for the Scripture itself to teach. Whereunto we may answer with truth, that there is not in the world any art or science, which, proposing unto itself an end (as every one doth some end or other), hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered simply whatsoever is needful to the same end; but all kinds of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them presupposeth many necessary things learned in other sciences and known beforehand. He that should take upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needs deliver unto them whatsoever precepts are requisite unto that end; otherwise he doth not

[a] Utrum cognitio supernaturalis, necessaria viatori, sit sufficienter tradita in sacra Scriptura? This question proposed by Scotus is affirmatively concluded.

the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquently unless he be able first to speak; it followeth, that ability of speech is in this case a thing most necessary. Notwithstanding every man would think it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an orator, should therefore deliver all the precepts of grammar; because his profession is to deliver precepts necessary unto eloquent speech; yet so, that they which are to receive them be taught beforehand so much of that which is thereunto necessary, as comprehendeth the skill of speaking. In like sort, albeit Scripture do profess to contain in it all things that are necessary unto salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary in some certain kind or form; as all things which are necessary, and either could not all, or could not easily be known by the light of natural discourse; all things which are necessary to be known that we may be saved; but known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary. In the number of these principles, one is the sacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore persuaded by other means that these Scriptures are the oracles of God, themselves do then teach us the rest, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands as necessary unto salvation. Farther, there hath been some doubt likewise, whether *containing in Scripture* do import express setting down in plain terms, or else *comprehending* in such sort that, by reason, we may from thence conclude all things which are necessary. Against the former of these two constructions, instance hath sundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the coeternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptizing infants: these, with such other principal points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture no where to be found by express literal mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehension in Scripture being therefore received, still there is no doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete measure of things necessary be made up. For let us not think, that as long as the world doth endure, the wit

of man shall be able to sound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; especially, if things contained by collection do so far extend, as to draw in whatsoever may be at any time out of Scripture but probably and conjecturally surmised. But let necessary collection be made requisite, and we may boldly deny, that of all those things which at this day are with so great necessity urged upon this church, under the name of reformed church-discipline, there is any one which their books hitherto have made manifest to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, allege but one properly belonging to their cause, and not common to them and us, and shew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be necessary. It hath been already shewed, how all things necessary unto salvation, in such sort as before we have maintained, must needs be possible for men to know; and that many things are in such sort necessary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of nature impossible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all flesh is excluded from possibility of salvation, which to think were most barbarous; or else, that God hath by supernatural means revealed the way of life so far forth as doth suffice. For this cause, God hath so many times and ways spoken to the sons of men: neither hath he by speech only, but by writing also, instructed and taught his church. The cause of writing hath been, to the end that things by him revealed unto the world, might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of assurance; by how much that which standeth on record, hath in both those respects preeminence above that which passeth from hand to hand, and hath no pens but the tongues, no book but the ears, of men to record it. The several books of Scripture having had each some several occasion and particular purpose which caused them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that special end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth that every book of Holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, natural, historical, foreign, supernatural, so much as the matter handled requireth. Now forasmuch as there have been reasons alleged sufficient to conclude that all things necessary unto salvation must be made known, and that God himself hath therefore revealed his will, because otherwise men could not have known so much as is necessary; his surceasing to speak

Eph. v. 29. 2 Tim. iii. 8. Tit. i. 12. 2 Pet. ii. 4.

to the world, since the publishing of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the delivery of the same in writing, is unto us a manifest token that the way of salvation is now sufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full instruction than God hath already furnished us withal. The main drift of the whole New Testament is that which St. John setteth down as the purpose of his own history; "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ, the Son of God, and that in believing, ye might have life through his name." The drift of the Old, that which the apostle mentioned to Timothy, "The Holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation." So that the general end both of Old and New is one; the difference between them consisting in this, that the Old did make wise by teaching salvation through Christ that should come; the New, by teaching that Christ the Saviour is come; and that Jesus, whom the Jews did crucify, and whom God did raise again from the dead, is he. When the apostle therefore affirmeth unto Timothy, that the Old was able to make him wise to salvation, it was not his meaning, that the Old alone can do this unto us which live sithence the publication of the New: for he speaketh with presupposal of the doctrine of Christ, known also unto Timothy; and therefore first it is said, "Continue thou in those things which thou hast learned, and art persuaded, knowing of whom thou hast been taught them." Again, those Scriptures he granteth were able to make him wise to salvation; but he addeth, "through the faith which is in Christ." Wherefore without the doctrine of the New Testament, teaching that Christ hath wrought the redemption of the world; which redemption the whole did forseshew he should work: it is not the former alone which can on our behalf perform so much as the apostle did avouch, who presupposeth this, when he magnifieth that so highly. And as his words concerning the books of ancient Scripture do not take place but with presupposal of the gospel of Christ embraced; so our own words also, when we extol the complete sufficiency of the whole entire body of the Scripture, must in like sort be understood with this caution, that the benefit of nature's light be not thought excluded as unnecessary, because the necessity of a diviner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what

John xx. 31

2 Tim. iii. 15.

2 Tim. iii. 14.

Ver. 15

place or calling soever he hold in the church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural understanding so perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction unto any good work which God himself requireth, be it natural or supernatural, belonging simply unto men, as men; or unto men, as they are united in whatsoever kind of society. It sufficeth, therefore, that nature and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly, and not severally either of them, be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides. And therefore they which add traditions, as a part of supernatural necessary truth, have not the truth, but are in error. For they only plead that whatsoever God revealeth as necessary for all Christian men to do or believe, the same we ought to embrace whether we have received it by writing or otherwise, which no man denieth; when that which they should confirm, who claim so great reverence unto traditions, is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged Divine and holy. For we do not reject them only because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the self-same force and authority with the written laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, that the apostles did in every church institute and ordain some rites and customs, serving for the seemliness of church-regiment; which rites and customs they have not committed unto writing. Those rites and customs being known to be apostolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the church, than other things of the like degree; that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the apostles' writings. For both being known to be apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

Whitakerus adversus Bellarmin. quæst. 6. cap. 6.

Of laws positive continued in Scrip-

15. Laws being imposed either by each man upon himself, or by a public society upon the particulars thereof; or by all the nations of men upon every several society; or by the

Lord himself upon any or every of these; there is not amongst these four kinds, any one, but containeth sundry both natural and positive laws. Impossible it is, but that they should fall into a number of gross errors, who only take such laws for positive as have been made or invented of men; and holding this position, hold also, that all positive and none but positive laws are mutable. Laws natural do always bind; laws positive not so, but only after they have been expressly and wittingly imposed. Laws positive there are in every of those kinds beforementioned. As in the first kind, the promises which we have passed unto men, and the vows we have made unto God; for these are laws which we tie ourselves unto, and till we have so tied ourselves they bind us not. Laws positive in the second kind, are such as the civil constitutions, which are peculiar unto each particular commonweal. In the third kind, the law of heraldry in war is positive: and in the last, all the judicials which God gave unto the people of Israel to observe. And although no laws but positive be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be positive. Positive laws are either permanent, or else changeable, according as the matter itself is concerning which they were first made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit, as the matter doth exact. Laws that concern supernatural duties, are all positive; and either concern men supernaturally as men, or else as parts of a supernatural society; which society we call the church. To concern men as men supernaturally, is to concern them as duties, which belong of necessity to all, and yet could not have been known by any to belong unto them unless God had opened them himself; inasmuch as they do not depend upon any natural ground at all out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to supply the defect of those natural ways of salvation, by which we are not now able to attain thereunto. The church being a supernatural society, doth differ from natural societies in this, that the persons unto whom we associate ourselves in the one, are men, simply considered as men; but they to whom we be joined in the other are God, angels, and holy men. Again, the church being both a society, and a society supernatural, although as it is a society, it have the self-same original grounds which other public societies have, namely, the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to

ture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.

some certain bond of association: which bond is the law that appointeth what kind of order they shall be associated in; yet unto the church, as it is a society supernatural, this is peculiar; that part of the bond of their association which belongs to the church of God, must be a law supernatural which God himself hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him. The substance of the service of God therefore, so far forth as it hath in it any thing more than the law of reason doth teach, may not be invented of men, as it is amongst the heathens; but must be received from God himself, as always it hath been in the church, saving only when the church hath been forgetful of her duty. Wherefore to end with a general rule concerning all the laws which God hath tied men unto: those laws Divine that belong, whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politic society, or to men as they are of that politic society which is the church, without any farther respect had unto any such variable accident, as the estate of men, and of societies of men, and of the church itself in this world, is subject unto;[a] all laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea, although they be positive laws, unless being positive, God himself which made them, alter them. The reason is, because the subject or matter of laws in general, is thus far forth constant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof laws were instituted, and being instituted are not changeable without cause, neither can they have cause of change, when that which gave them their first institution, remaineth for ever one and the same. On the other side, laws that were made for men or societies or churches in regard of their being such, as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwise awhile after, and so may require to be otherwise ordered than before; the laws of God himself, which are of this nature, no man endued with common sense will ever deny to be of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the one's constancy and the mutability of the other. And this doth seem to have been the very cause why St. John doth so peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth salvation by Jesus Christ, *evangelium æternum*, an eternal gospel;—because there can be no reason wherefore the publishing thereof should be taken away, and any other instead of it proclaimed,

Apoc. xiv. 6.

[a] Their fear towards me was taught by the precept of men. Isa. xxix. 13.

as long as the world doth continue: whereas the whole law of rites and ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is notwithstanding clean abrogated, inasmuch as it had but temporary cause of God's ordaining it. But that we may at the length conclude this first general introduction unto the nature and original birth, as of all other laws, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture containeth, concerning the Author whereof, even infidels have confessed, that he can neither err nor deceive;[a] albeit, about things easy and manifest unto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation, because as a man whose wisdom is in weighty affairs admired, would take it in some disdain to have his counsel solemnly asked about a toy; so the meanness of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reverend authority and dignity of the Scripture, no less than they do, by whom scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious than profane; to take from thence our direction even in all things great or small, than to wade through matters of principal weight and moment, without ever caring what the law of God hath either for or against our designs. Concerning the custom of the very painims, thus much Strabo witnesseth: "Men that are civil, do lead their lives after one common law appointing them what to do. For that otherwise a multitude should with harmony amongst themselves concur in the doing of one thing (for this is civilly to live), or that they should in any sort manage community of life, it is not possible. Now laws or statutes are of two sorts. For they are either received from gods, or else from men. And our ancient predecessors did surely most honour and reverence that which was from the gods. For which cause, consultation with oracles was a thing very usual and frequent in their times."[b] Did they make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods; and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference

[a] Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἔν τε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, οὔτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους, οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπὰς, οὐδ' ὕπαρ, οὐδ' ὄναρ. Plat. in fine 2 Polit.

[b] Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προστάγματος κοινοῦ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ οἴόντε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἅν τι κατὰ ταυτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις, (ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι) καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα δίττον· ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἵ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβειον μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐσέμνυνον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἦν τότε πολύς. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi.

with those oracles of the true and living God, whereof so great store is left to the church, and whereunto there is so free, so plain, and so easy access for all men? "By thy commandments (this was David's confession unto God) thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies." Again, "I have more understanding than all my teachers, because thy testimonies are my meditations." What pains would not they have bestowed in the study of these books, who travelled sea and land to gain the treasures of some few days' talk with men, whose wisdom the world did make any reckoning of? That little which some of the heathens did chance to hear concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful sort affect; their speeches, as oft as they make mention thereof, are strange, and such as themselves could not utter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits, which did every where else conquer hardness, were with profoundness here overmatched. Wherefore seeing that God hath endued us with sense, to the end that we might perceive such things as this present life doth need; and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach unto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to be known, should lie obscure; finally, with the heavenly support of prophetical revelation, which doth open those hidden mysteries that reason could never have been able to find out,[r] or to have known the necessity of them unto our everlasting good: use we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honour that gave them, seeking by all means to know what the will of our God is; what righteous before him; in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

Psal. cxix. 99.

Vide Orphei Carmina.

A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

16. Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open, of what nature and force laws are, according unto their several kinds: the law which God with himself hath eternally set down to follow in his own works: the law which he hath made for his creatures to keep: the law of natural and necessary agents: the law which angels in heaven obey: the law whereunto, by the light of reason, men find themselves bound, in that they are men: the law which they make by composition for multitudes and politic societies of men to be guided by: the law which belongeth unto each nation: the law that concerneth the fellowship of all: and lastly, the law

[r] Ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται, πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. Philo de Mos.

which God himself hath supernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular, and more plausible to vulgar ears, if this first discourse had been spent in extolling the force of laws, in shewing the great necessity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence, by whom public laws are injuriously traduced. But forasmuch as with such kind of matter, the passions of men are rather stirred one way or other, than their knowledge any way set forward unto the trial of that whereof there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen, though a less easy, yet a more profitable way, in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should marvel whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose of all is this, even to shew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws is derived from the Father of lights, to teach men a reason why just and reasonable laws are of so great force, of so great use in the world; and to inform their minds with some method of reducing the laws, whereof there is present controversy, unto their first original causes, that so it may be in every particular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable, just, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thoroughly understood or soundly judged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth be made manifest? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wise men to be then most orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their first original; seeing that our whole question concerneth the quality of ecclesiastical laws, let it not seem a labour superfluous, that in the entrance thereunto, all these several kinds of laws have been considered; inasmuch as they all concur as principles; they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner; by means whereof it cometh to pass, that the force which they have is not observed of many. Easier a great deal it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should do of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all; the other, such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a law is the weightiest thing which any man can

Jam. i. 17.

Arist. Phys. lib. i. cap. 1

take upon him.[a] But if we will give judgment of the laws under which we live; first, let that law eternal be always before our eyes, as being of principal force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutiful estimation of all laws, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt, but that laws apparently good, are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of that high everlasting law, even as the book of that law hath said concerning itself, "By me kings reign, and by me princes decree justice." Not as if men did behold that book, and accordingly frame their laws; but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth and (as it were) readeth itself to the world by them, when the laws which they make are righteous. Farthermore, although we perceive not the goodness of laws made; nevertheless, sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discern not; should not this breed a fear into our hearts how we speak or judge in the worst part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to him towards whom we profess all submission and awe? Surely there must be very manifest iniquity in laws, against which we shall be able to justify our contumelious invectives; the chiefest root whereof, when we use them without cause, is ignorance how laws inferior are derived from that supreme or highest law. The first that receive impression from thence are natural agents: the law of whose operations might be haply thought less pertinent, when the question is about laws for human actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concern men, the rules and actions of natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our salvation, than our persuasion concerning the law of Christ towards his church? What greater assurance of love towards his church, than the knowledge of that mystical union, whereby the church is become as near unto Christ as any one part of his flesh is unto other? That the church being in such sort his, he must needs protect it; what proof more strong, than if a manifest law so require, which law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other law doth the apostle for this allege, but such as is both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other things natural; "No man hateth his own flesh, but doth love and cherish it?"

Prov. viii. 15.

Ephes. v. 29.

[a] Arist. Ethic. 10. Τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς, μέγιστον. Intelligit de legum qualitate judicium.

The axioms of that law therefore, whereby natural agents are guided, have their use in the moral, yea, even in the spiritual actions of men, and consequently in all laws belonging unto men howsoever. Neither are the angels themselves so far severed from us in their kind and manner of working, but that between the law of their heavenly operations and the actions of men in this our state of mortality, such correspondence there is as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one for the other's more perfect direction. Would angels acknowledge themselves fellow-servants with the sons of men, but that both having one Lord, there must be some kind of law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a pattern and a spur? Or would the apostles, speaking of that which belongeth unto saints as they are linked together in the bond of spiritual society, so often make mention how angels are therewith delighted, if in things publicly done by the church we are not somewhat to respect what the angels of heaven do? Yea, so far hath the apostle Saint Paul proceeded, as to signify that even about the outward orders of the church, which serve but for comeliness, some regard is to be had of angels, who best like us when we are most like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the law of angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the church of God. Our largeness of speech, how men do find out what things reason bindeth them of necessity to observe, and what it guideth them to choose in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different nature of laws which severally concern all men, from such as belong unto men either civilly or spiritually associated; such as pertain to the fellowship which nations, or which Christian nations, have amongst themselves; and in the last place, such as concerning every or any of these, God himself hath revealed by his holy word; all serveth but to make manifest, that as the actions of men are of sundry distinct kinds, so the laws thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politic, some finally ecclesiastical: which if we measure not each by his own proper law, whereas the things themselves are so different, there will be in our understanding and judgment of them,

Apoc. xix. 10.

1 Pet i. 12. Ephes. iii. 10. 1 Tim. v. 21.

1 Cor. xi. 10.

confusion. As that first error sheweth whereon our opposites in this cause have grounded themselves; for as they rightly maintain, that God must be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory unless they be framed after his law; so it is their error to think that the only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the sacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally, as when we breathe, sleep, move, we set forth the glory of God as natural agents do, albeit we have no express purpose to make that our end, nor any advised determination therein to follow a law, but do that we do (for the most part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reasonable and moral actions, another law taketh place; a law, by the observation whereof we glorify God in such sort, as no creature else under man is able to do; because other creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they do they neither can accuse nor approve themselves. Men do both as the apostle teacheth; yea, those men which have no written law of God to shew what is good or evil, carry written in their hearts the universal law of mankind, the law of reason, whereby they judge as by a rule which God has given unto all men for that purpose. The law of reason doth somewhat direct men how to honour God as their creator; but how to glorify God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an everlasting saviour, this we are taught by Divine law, which law both ascertaineth the truth, and supplieth unto us the want of that other law. So that in moral actions, Divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man's life; but in supernatural, it alone guideth. Proceed we farther, let us place man in some public society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy, but we must add yet a farther law. For although, even here likewise, the laws of nature and reason be of necessary use; yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely, human and positive law, together with that law which is of commerce between grand societies, the law of nations, and of nations Christian. For which cause, the law of God hath likewise said, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." The public power of all societies is above every soul contained in the same societies. And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all that are under it; which laws in such case we must obey, un-

Psal. cxlviii. 7—9.

Rom. i. 21.

Rom. ii. 15.

Rom. xiii. 1.

less there be reason shewed which may necessarily enforce, that the law of reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary: because except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations overruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourselves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass, that we are at this present day so rent with mutual contentions, and that the church is so much troubled about the polity of the church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn how many laws their actions in this life are subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died the very day they were first brought forth. It is both commonly said, and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, for that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled; and yet in society with others, none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands.[a] Yea, I am persuaded, that of them, with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters among men would be hardly found if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so unframable unto societies wherein they live, is, for that they discern not aright what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is their question either concerning the regiment of the church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions, in our own church? Of all these things, they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some show of probability; and what seemeth in that sort convenient the same they think themselves bound to practise; the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance. For the better inuring, therefore, of men's minds with the true distinction of laws, and of their several force, according to the

[a] Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. Arist. Ethic. lib. v. cap. 3.

different kind and quality of our actions, it shall not peradventure be amiss to shew in some one example, how they shall take place. To seek no farther, let but that be considered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are food, and what are not, we judge naturally by sense; neither need we any other law to be our director in that behalf than the self-same which is common unto us with beasts. But when we come to consider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodness has provided for all things living; the law of reason doth here require the duty of thankfulness at our hands, towards him at whose hands we have it. And lest appetite in the use of food should lead us beyond that which is meet, we owe in this case obedience to that law of reason, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The same things Divine law teacheth also, as at large we have shewed it doth all parts of moral duty, whereunto we all of necessity stand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certain kinds of food the Jews sometimes had, and we ourselves likewise have a mystical, religious, and supernatural use; they of their paschal lamb and oblations; we of our bread and wine in the eucharist; which use none but Divine law could institute. Now as we live in civil society, the state of the commonwealth wherein we live both may and doth require certain laws concerning food; which laws, saving only that we are members of the commonwealth, where they are of force, we should need to respect as rules of action; whereas now in their place and kind they must be respected and obeyed. Yea, the self-same matter is also a subject wherein sometime ecclesiastical laws have place; so that unless we will be authors of confusion in the church, our private discretion, which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here submit itself to be that way guided, which the public judgment of the church hath thought better. In which case, that of Zonaras concerning fasts may be remembered. "Fastings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that transgresseth in his fasting the orders of the holy fathers," the positive laws of the church of Christ, must be plainly told, "that good things do lose the grace of their goodness, when in good sort they are not performed."[a] And as here men's private fancies must give place to the

Job xxxiv. 3.

Psal. clxv. 15, 16.

[a] Ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνεται. Zonar. in Can. Apost. 66.

higher judgment of that church, which is in authority a mother over them; so the very actions of whole churches have, in regard of commerce and fellowship with other churches, been subject to laws concerning food, the contrary unto which laws had else been thought more convenient for them to observe; as by that order of abstinence from things strangled and blood, may appear; an order grounded upon that fellowship which the churches of the gentiles had with the Jews. Acts xv. 20. Thus we see how even one and the self-same thing is under divers considerations conveyed through many laws; and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other. Wherefore, that here we may briefly end: "of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power: both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."

BOOK II.

Concerning their first position who urge reformation in the church of England: namely, that Scripture is the only rule of all things, which in this life may be done by men.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS SECOND BOOK.

1. An answer to their first proof brought out of Scripture, Prov. ii. 9.
2. To their second, 1 Cor. x. 31.
3. To their third, 1 Tim. iv. 5.
4. To their fourth, Rom. xiv. 23.
5. To their proofs out of fathers, who dispute negatively from the authority of Holy Scripture.
6. To their proof by the Scripture's custom of disputing from Divine authority negatively.
7. An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and persuasions.
8. A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

As that which in the title hath been proposed for the matter whereof we treat, is only the ecclesiastical law whereby we

are governed; so neither is it my purpose to maintain any other thing than that which therein truth and reason shall approve. For concerning the dealings of men who administer government, and unto whom the execution of that law belongeth, they have their judge who sitteth in heaven, and before whose tribunal-seat they are accountable for whatsoever abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this church) the want either of care or of conscience in them hath bred. We are no patrons of those things therefore, the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend to the uttermost of that ability which he hath given; that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath sprung. Wherefore all these abuses being severed and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men, and not from the laws themselves; come we to those things which in the very whole entire form of our church polity have been (as we persuade ourselves) injuriously blamed by them who endeavour to overthrow the same, and instead thereof to establish a much worse; only through a strong misconceit they have that the same is grounded on Divine authority. Now, whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend to be fewer than indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discussed by reason, than otherwise they seem when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch a heap is made: surely, as now we have drawn them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to be severally all discussed, and omitting such mean specialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterward of themselves: I know no cause why either the number or the length of these controversies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and love on all sides; which of his infinite love and goodness the Father of all peace and unity grant. Unto which scope, that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things be examined, which are as seeds from whence the rest that ensue have grown. And of such the most general is that wherewith we are here to make our entrance: a question not moved (I think) any where in other churches, and therefore is ours the more likely to be soon (I trust) determined; the rather for that it hath grown from no other

root than only a desire to enlarge the necessary use of the word of God; which desire hath begotten an error, enlarging it farther than (as we are persuaded) soundness of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they hold that one only law, the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the taking up of a rush or straw: about which point there should not need any question to grow, and that which is grown might presently end, if they did yield but to these two restraints. The first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speak so low as that instance doth import of taking up a straw, but rather keep themselves at the least within the compass of moral actions, actions which have in them vice or virtue. The second, not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the law of reason; the general axioms, rules, and principles, of which law, being so frequent in Holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, even out of Scripture, such duties may be deduced by some kind of consequence (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth, out of any truth, may be concluded); howbeit no man, bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not presently considered of the action, shall in that respect be condemned as unlawful. In this we dissent, and this we are presently to examine.

T. C. l. i. p. 59. 60.

1. In all parts of knowledge, rightly so termed, things most general are most strong. Thus it must be, inasmuch as the certainty of our persuasion touching particulars, dependeth altogether upon the credit of those generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cause admit not such infallible evidence of proof, as leaveth no possibility of doubt or scruple behind it; yet they who claim the general assent of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do not fear to give very hard and heavy sentence upon as many as refuse to embrace the same, must have special regard that their first foundations and grounds be more than slender probabilities. This whole question, which hath been

The first pretended proof of the first position out of Scripture.

moved about the kind of church-regiment, we could not but for our own resolution's sake endeavour to unrip and sift; following therein as near as we might, the conduct of that judicial method which serveth best for invention of truth. By means whereof having found this the head theorem of all their discourses, who plead for the change of ecclesiastical government in England, namely, "that the Scripture of God is in such sort the rule of human actions, that simply whatsoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the same is sin;" we hold it necessary that the proofs hereof be weighed. Be they of weight sufficient or otherwise, it is not ours to judge and determine; only what difficulties there are which as yet withhold our assent till we be farther and better satisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongst them will scorn or refuse to hear. First, therefore, whereas they allege, that wisdom doth teach men every good way;[a] and have thereupon inferred that no way is good in any kind of action unless wisdom do by Scripture lead unto it; see they not plainly how they restrain the manifold ways which wisdom hath to teach men by, unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wisdom was Adam's instructor in Paradise: wisdom endued the fathers who lived before the law, with the knowledge of holy things; by the wisdom of the law of God, David attained to excel others in understanding, and Solomon likewise to excel David by the self-same wisdom of God, teaching him many things besides the law. The ways of well-doing are in number, even as many as are the kinds of voluntary actions; so that whatsoever we do in this world, and may do it ill, we shew ourselves therein by well-doing to be wise. Now if wisdom did teach men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in some certain kind, according to that of St. Paul,[b] concerning

Prov. ii. 9.

Psal. cxix. 25.

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 20. I say, that the word of God containeth whatsoever things can fall into any part of man's life. For so Solomon saith in the second chapter of the Proverbs, "My son, if thou receive my words, &c. then thou shalt understand justice, and judgment, and equity, and every good way."

[b] 2 Tim. iii. 16. "The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect unto all good works." He meaneth all and only those good works which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto salvation are necessary. Or if we understand by men of God, God's ministers, there is not required in them a universal skill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatsoever men are bound to do that they may be saved: and with this kind of knowledge the Scripture sufficeth to furnish them as touching matter.

the use of Scripture, but did simply, without any manner of exception, restraint, or distinction, teach every way of doing well, there is no art but Scripture should teach it, because every art doth teach the way to do something or other well. To teach men, therefore, wisdom professeth, and to teach them every good way; but not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatsoever either men on earth, or the angels of heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable fountain of wisdom; which wisdom hath diversely imparted her treasures unto the world. As her ways are of sundry kinds, so her manner of teaching is not merely one and the same. Some things she openeth by the sacred books of Scripture; some things by the glorious works of nature; with some things she inspireth them from above by spiritual influence; in some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not so in any one special kind admire her that we disgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

The second proof out of Scripture.

2. That all things be done to the glory of God,[c] the blessed apostle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that virtue Divine, which being made manifest, causeth men and angels to extol his greatness, and in regard thereof to fear him. By being glorified, it is not meant, that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his name we glorify, when we testify our acknowledgment of his glory. Which albeit we most effectually do by the virtue of obedience; nevertheless it may be perhaps a question, whether St. Paul did mean that we sin as oft as ever we go about any thing without an express intent and purpose to obey God therein. He saith of himself, "I do in all things please all men, seeking not my own commodity, but rather the good of many, that they may be saved." **1 Cor. x. 33.** Shall it hereupon be thought, that St. Paul did not move either hand or foot, but with express intent even thereby to farther the common salvation of men? We move, we sleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes do only to satisfy some natural desire, without

[c] 1 Cor. x. 31. T. C. l. i. p. 26. St. Paul saith, "that whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do it to the glory of God." But no man can glorify God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in respect of the commandment and word of God; therefore it followeth that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

present, express, and actual reference unto any commandment of God. Unto his glory even these things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and spiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the most concealed instincts of nature, his power is made manifest. But it doth not therefore follow, that of necessity we shall sin unless we expressly intend this in every such particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our general presupposed willingness to please God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot so glorify the name of God as we should without an actual intent to do him in that particular some special obedience; yet for any thing there is in this sentence alleged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent desire to fulfil that law which maketh known what his will is, although no special clause or sentence of Scripture be in every such action set before men's eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinds of laws which notify the will of God, as in the former book hath been proved at large: nor is there any law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory.

1 Cor. x. 31—33. "Do therefore all things unto the glory of God, (saith the apostle); be inoffensive both to the Jews and Grecians, and the church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking my own commodity, but many's, that they may be saved." In the least thing done disobediently towards God, or offensively against the good of men, whose benefit we ought to seek for as for our own, we plainly shew that we do not acknowledge God to be such as indeed he is, and consequently that we glorify him not. This the blessed apostle teacheth; but doth any apostle teach that we cannot glorify God otherwise than only in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth us to do? The churches dispersed amongst the heathen in the east part of the world are by the apostle St. Peter exhorted to have their "conversation honest among the gentiles, that they which speak evil

1 Pet. ii. 12. of them as of evil-doers, might, by the good works which they should see, glorify God in the day of visitation." As long as that which Christians did was good, and no way subject unto just reproof, their virtuous conversation was a mean

to work the heathen's conversion unto Christ. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impossible, but that infidels themselves did discern in matters of life and conversation, when believers did well and when otherwise; when they glorified their heavenly Father, and when not; it followeth, that some things wherein God is glorified, may be some other way known than only by the sacred Scripture; of which Scripture the gentiles being utterly ignorant, did notwithstanding judge rightly of the quality of Christian men's actions. Most certain it is, that nothing but only sin doth dishonour God. So that to glorify him in all things, is to do nothing whereby the name of God may be blasphemed; nothing whereby the salvation of Jew or Grecian, or any in the church of Christ, may be let or hindered; nothing whereby his law is transgressed. But the question is, whether only Scripture do shew whatsoever God is glorified in?

Rom. ii. 24. 1 Cor. x. 32. Rom. ii. 23.

3. And though meats and drinks be said to be sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, yet neither is this a reason sufficient to prove, that by Scripture we must of necessity be directed in every light and common thing which is incident unto any part of man's life. Only it sheweth that unto us the word, that is to say, the gospel of Christ, having not delivered any such difference of things clean and unclean, as the law of Moses did unto the Jews, there is no cause but that we may use indifferently all things as long as we do not (like swine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgment of his liberality and goodness by whose providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the apostle gave warning beforehand to take heed of such as should enjoin to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving, by them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, because it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." The gospel, by not making many things unclean, as the law did, hath sanctified those things generally to all, which particularly each man unto himself must sanctify by a reverend and holy use. Which will hardly be drawn so far as to serve their purpose, who have imagined the word in such sort to sanctify all things, that neither food can be tasted, nor raiment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deed must needs be

The third Scripture-proof, 1 Tim. iv. 5. and that which St. Paul said of meats and drinks, that they are sanctified unto us by the word of God, the same is to be understood of all things else whatsoever we have the use of. T. C. l. i. p. 26. 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

sin in them which do not first know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

he fourth cripture-roof.

4. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is most stood upon; that place of St. Paul, they say, is of all other most clear, where speaking of those things which are called indifferent, in the end he concludeth, that "whatsoever is not of faith, is sin;" but faith is not but in respect of the word of God; therefore whatsoever is not done by the word of God, is sin. Whereunto we answer, that albeit the name of faith being properly and strictly taken, it must needs have reference unto sone uttered word as the object of belief, nevertheless, sith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of the utterer, or by the manifest likelihood of truth which they have in themselves; hereupon it riseth, that whatsoever we are persuaded of, the same we are generally said to believe. In which generality the object of faith may not so narrowly be restrained, as if the same did extend no farther than only to the Scriptures of God. "Though (saith our Saviour) ye believe not me, believe my works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." "The other disciples said unto Thomas, We have seen the Lord;" but his answer unto them was, "Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into them, I will not believe." Can there be any thing more plain, than that which by these two sentences appeareth; namely, that there may be a certain belief grounded upon other assurance than Scripture; any thing more clear, than that we are said not only to believe the things which we know by another's relation, but even whatsoever we are certainly persuaded of, whether it be by reason or by sense? Forasmuch therefore as it is granted that St. Paul doth mean nothing else by faith, but only a full persuasion that that which we do is well done;[a] against which kind of faith or persuasion, as St. Paul doth count it sin to enterprise any thing, so likewise some of the very heathen have taught,[b] as

tom. iv. 23. '. C. l. i. . 27.

Psal. xix. 8. Apoc. iii. 14. 2 Cor. i. 18.

John x. 37, 38. xx. 25.

[a] And if any will say, that St. Paul meaneth there a πληροφορίαν and full persuasion that that which he doth is well done, I grant it: but from whence can that spring but from faith? How can we persuade and assure ourselves that we do well, but whereas we have the word of God for our warrant? T. C. l. i. p. 27.

[b] What also that some even of those heathen men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubtest, whether it be right or wrong. Wherehy it appeareth, that even those which had no knowledge of the word of God, did see much of the equity of this which the apostle requireth of a Christian man: and that the

Tully, "That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubtest, whether it be right or wrong;" whereby it appeareth that even those which had no knowledge of the word of God, did see much of the equity of this which the apostle requireth of a Christian man; I hope we shall not seem altogether unnecessarily to doubt of the soundness of their opinion, who think simply that nothing but only the word of God can give us assurance in any thing we are to do, and resolve us that we do well. For might not the Jews have been fully persuaded that they did well to think (if they had so thought) that in Christ, God the Father was, although the only ground of this their faith had been the wonderful works they saw him do? Might not, yea, did not Thomas fully in the end persuade himself, that he did well to think that body which now was raised, to be the same which had been crucified? That which gave Thomas this assurance was his sense; "Thomas, because thou hast seen, thou believest," saith our Saviour. What Scripture had Tully for his assurance? Yet I nothing doubt, but that they who allege him, think he did well to set down in writing a thing so consonant unto truth. Finally, we all believe that the Scriptures of God are sacred, and that they have proceeded from God; ourselves we assure that we do right well in so believing. We have for this point a demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do well to think it his word. For if any one book of Scripture did give testimony to all, yet still that Scripture which giveth credit to the rest, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it; neither could we ever come unto any pause whereon to rest our assurance this way: so that unless beside Scripture, there were something which might assure us that we do well, we could not think we do well; no, not in being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy rule of well-doing. On which determination we might be contented to stay ourselves without farther proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into a larger speech by reason of their so great earnestness, who beat more and more upon these last alleged words, as being of all other most pregnant. Whereas therefore they still argue, that

John xx. 29.

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chiefest difference is, that where they sent men for the difference of good and evil to the light of reason, in such things the apostle sendeth them to the school of Christ in his word, which only is able through faith to give them assurance and resolution in their doings. T. C. l. i. p. 60.

T. C. l. ii. p. 58. "wheresoever faith is wanting, there is sin; and, in every action not commanded, faith is wanting; *ergo*, in every action not commanded, there is sin:" I would demand of them; first, forasmuch as the nature of things indifferent is neither to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith sin be committed, when any thing not commanded is done? So that of necessity they must add somewhat, and at leastwise thus set it down: In every action not commanded of God, or permitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith there is sin. The next thing we are to inquire is, What those things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be so permitted. When there are unto one end sundry means; as for example, for the sustenance of our bodies many kinds of food, many sorts of raiment to clothe our nakedness, and so in other things of like condition: here the end itself being necessary, but not so any one mean thereunto; necessary that our bodies should be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or raiment necessary; therefore we hold these things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own discretion, except a principal bond of some higher duty remove the indifferency that such things have in themselves. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take
Acts v. away our own liberty, as Ananias did, for whom to have sold or held his possessions it was indifferent, till his solemn vow and promise unto God had strictly bound him one only way; or if God himself have precisely abridged the same, by restraining us unto, or by barring us from some one or more things of many, which otherwise were in themselves
Exod. xxviii. 4. 43. altogether indifferent. Many fashions of priestly attire there were, whereof Aaron and his sons might have had their free
Levit. xi. choice without sin, but that God expressly tied them unto one. All meats were indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted some, as swine's flesh. Impossible therefore it is that we should otherwise think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the same he permitteth them with approbation either to be done or
1 Cor. vi. 12. left undone. "All things are lawful unto me," saith the apostle, speaking, as it seemeth, in the person of the Christian gentile for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent; whereunto his answer is, that nevertheless, "all things are

not expedient;" in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient. Now in things, although not commanded of God, yet lawful because they are permitted, the question is, What light shall shew us the conveniency which one hath above another? For answer, their final determination is, that "Whereas the heathen did send men for the difference of good and evil to the light of reason, in such things the apostle sendeth us to the school of Christ in his word, which only is able through faith to give us assurance and resolution in our doings." Which word only, is utterly without possibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unless the word of the Lord hath determined of the free use of them, there could have been no lawful use of them at all; which notwithstanding is untrue; because it is not the Scripture's setting down such things as indifferent, but their not setting down as necessary that doth make them to be indifferent; yet this to our present purpose serveth nothing at all. We inquire not now, whether any thing be free to be used which Scripture hath not set down as free; but concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in choosing any one of them before another, we sin, if any thing but Scripture direct us into this our choice. When many meats are set before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful; I take one as most convenient. If Scripture require me so to do, then is not the thing indifferent, because I must do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any; Scripture doth not require of me to make any special choice of one; I do notwithstanding make choice of one, my discretion teaching me so to do. A hard case, that hereupon I should be justly condemned of sin. Nor let any man think, that following the judgment of natural discretion in such cases, we can have no assurance that we please God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how shall any operation proceeding in natural sort, be in that respect unacceptable? The nature which himself hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the same any way, without commandment of his to the contrary. My desire is to make this cause so manifest, that if it were possible, no doubt or scruple concerning the same might remain in any man's cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time

doth alter: as it is now true that Christ is risen from the dead; which thing was not true at such time as Christ was living on earth, and had not suffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the sinful stain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetual truth, in such sort that from the first beginning of the world unto the last consummation thereof, it neither hath been, nor can be otherwise. I see not how they can restrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now, and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is for want of faith, sin. Then let them cast back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the world. Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Job, and the rest that lived before any syllable of the law of God was written, did they not sin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his sacred word, the same he was unto them by such-like means, as Eliphaz in Job describeth. If therefore we sin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not, it followeth that they did the like in all such actions as were not by revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands. Unless God from heaven did by vision still shew them what to do, they might do nothing, not eat, not drink, not sleep, not move. Yea, but even as in darkness, candle-light may serve to guide men's steps, which to use in the day were madness; so when God hath once delivered his law in writing, it may be they are of opinion, that then it must needs be sin for men to do any thing which was not there commanded for them to do, whatsoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it shall hereupon plainly ensue, either that the light of Scripture once shining in the world, all other light of nature is therewith in such sort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer use it; or if it stand us in any stead, yet as Aristotle speaketh of men whom nature hath framed for the state of servitude, saying, "They have reason so far forth as to conceive when others direct them," but little or none in directing themselves by themselves; so likewise our natural capacity and judgment must serve us only for the right understandiug of that which the sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the prophets who succeeded Moses, or the blessed apostles which followed them, been settled in this

Job iv. 19.

Arist. Pol. i.

persuasion, never would they have taken so great pains in gathering together natural arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their duties. To use unto them any other motive than *Scriptum est*, Thus it is written, had been to teach them other grounds of their actions than Scripture; which, I grant, they allege commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they should have alleged, had they been thus persuaded, that so far forth we do sin as we do any thing otherwise directed than by Scripture. St. Augustine was resolute in points of Christianity to credit none, how godly and learned soever he were, unless he confirmed his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them. Let them therefore with St. Augustine, reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on some reason not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly consent with them.

August. Ep. 18.

5. But against this it may be objected, and is, That the fathers do nothing more usually in their books, than draw arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evil; Scriptures teach it not, avoid it therefore. These disputes with the fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to shew that the prophets themselves have so reasoned. Which arguments being sound and good, it should seem that it cannot be unsound or evil to hold still the same assertion, against which hitherto we have disputed. For if it stand with reason thus to argue, such a thing is not taught us in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it; how should it seem unreasonable to think that whatsoever we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it must make it lawful? But how far such arguments do reach, it shall the better appear by considering the matter wherein they have been urged. First, therefore, this we constantly deny, that of so many testimonies as they are able to produce for the strength of negative arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in question) condemn either all opinions as false, or all actions as unlawful which the Scripture teacheth us not. The most that can be collected out of them is only, that in some cases a negative argument taken from Scripture is strong, whereof no man endued with judgment can doubt. But doth the strength of some negative argument prove this kind of negative argument strong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not,

The first assertion endeavoured to be proved by the use of taking arguments negatively from the authority of Scripture; which kind of disputing is usual in the fathers.

or all things which Scripture prescribeth not condemned? The question between us is concerning matter of action, what things are lawful or unlawful for men to do. The sentences alleged out of the fathers, are as peremptory, and as large in every respect for matter of opinion, as of action. Which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwise to tie the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the same kind of necessity unto salvation. If therefore it be not unlawful to know, and with full persuasion to believe, much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be against all sense and reason to condemn the knowledge of so many arts and sciences as are otherwise learned than in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding the manifest speeches of ancient catholic fathers, which seem to close up within the bosom thereof all manner of good and lawful knowledge; wherefore should their words be thought more effectual to shew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in speculation and knowledge we ought not to go any farther than the Scripture; which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief, no less than of action, the fathers must needs be, and are even as plain against credit besides the relation, as against practice without the injunction of the Scripture. St. Augustine hath said, "Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his church, or of what thing soever the question be; I say not, if we, but if an angel from heaven shall tell us any thing beside that you have received in the Scripture under the law and the gospel, let him be accursed."[a] In like sort Tertullian: "We may not give ourselves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor choose any thing that other men bring in of their will; we have the apostles themselves for authors, which themselves brought nothing of their own will; but the discipline which they received of Christ, they delivered faithfully unto the people;" in which place the name of discipline importeth not, as they who allege it would fain have it construed, but as any man (who noteth the circumstance of the place, and the occasion

ug. cont. er. Petil. iii. c. 6.

rtul. de escrip. vers.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 81. Augustine saith, Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it be question of his church, &c. And lest the answer should restrain the general saying of Augustine, unto the doctrine of the gospel, so that he would thereby shut out the discipline; even Tertullian himself, before he was imbrued with the heresy of Montanus, giveth testimony unto the discipline in these words, We may not give ourselves, &c.

of uttering the words) will easily acknowledge, even the self-same thing it signifieth which the name of doctrine doth; and as well might the one as the other there have been used. To help them farther, doth not St. Jerome, after the self-same manner dispute, "We believe it not, because we read it not?" yea, "We ought not so much as to know the things which the book of the law containeth not," saith St. Hilary. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or give credit unto, any thing which sense, or experience, or report, or art, doth propose, unless we find the same in Scripture? No, it is too plain that so far to extend their speeches, is to wrest them against their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the church, requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian belief, wherewith the words of the holy prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that supernatural and celestially revealed truth which God hath taught, and not to shew it in Scripture, this did the ancient fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus, as their speeches were meant, so by us they must be restrained. As for those alleged words of Cyprian,[a] "The Christian religion shall find, that out of this Scripture rules of all doctrines have sprung, and that from hence doth spring, and hither doth return, whatsoever the ecclesiastical discipline doth contain:" surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cause, if it had been but once read over in the author himself out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal commandment of love; in the honour whereof he speaketh after this sort:[b] "Surely this commandment containeth the law and the prophets, and in this one word is the abridgment of all the volumes of Scripture: this nature, and reason, and the authority of thy word, O Lord, doth proclaim; this we have heard out of thy mouth; herein the perfection of all religion doth consist. This is the first commandment and the last: this being writ-

Hierom. contra Helvid.

Hilar. in Ps. cxxxii.

[a] Let him hear what Cyprian saith, The Christian religion (saith he) shall find, that, &c. T. C. l. ii. p. 8.

[b] Vere hoc mandatum legem complectitur et prophetas, et in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine, verbi tui clamat auctoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit consummationem omnis religio. Primum est hoc mandatum et ultimum, hoc in libro vitæ conscriptum indeficientem, et hominibus, et angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc unum verbum et in hoc mandato meditetur Christiana religio, et inveniet ex hac Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanâsse, et hinc nasci et huc reverti quicquid ecclesiastica continet disciplina, et in omnibus irritum esse et frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

ten in the book of life, is (as it were) an everlasting lesson both to men and angels. Let Christian religion read this one word, and meditate upon this commandment, and out of this Scripture, it shall find the rules of all learning to have sprung, and from hence to have risen, and hither to return, whatsoever the ecclesiastical discipline containeth; and that in all things it is vain and bootless which charity confirmeth not." Was this a sentence (trow you) of so great force to prove that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one commandment of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and so exclude the rest of the Scripture, as now they do all means besides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much desire of contradiction causeth our speech rather to pass by number than to stay for weight. Well, but Tertullian doth in this case speak yet more plainly: "The Scripture (saith he) denieth what it noteth not;" which are indeed the words of Tertullian.[a] But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the kings of Israel, and amongst those kings David; the Scripture reckoneth up the sons of David, and amongst those sons Solomon. To prove that amongst the kings of Israel there was no David but only one; no Solomon but one in the sons of David, Tertullian's argument will fitly prove. For inasmuch as the Scripture did propose to reckon up all; if there were more, it would have named them. In this case the Scripture doth deny the thing it noteth not. Howbeit I could not but think that man to do me some piece of manifest injury, which would hereby fasten upon me a general opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very reign of King Henry the Eighth, because it no where noteth that any such king did reign. Tertullian's speech is probable concerning such matter as he there speaketh of. "There was (saith Tertullian) no second Lamech like to him that had two wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not." As therefore it noteth one such to have been in that age of the world; so had there been more, it would by likelihood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? There was no second Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. Were it consonant unto reason to divorce these two sentences, the former of which doth shew how the latter is

Tertul. lib. de Monog.

[a] And in another place Tertullian saith, That the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not. T. C. l. ii. p. 81.

restrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the latter of them, that simply whatsoever any man at this day doth think true is by the Scripture denied, unless it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a case so weak and feeble hath been so much persisted in. But to come unto those their sentences wherein matters of action are more apparently touched, the name of Tertullian is, as before, so here again pretended;[a] who writing unto his wife two books, and exhorting her in the one to live a widow, in case God before her should take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry, yet not to join herself to an infidel, as in those times some Christian widows had done for the advancement of their estate in this present world, he urgeth very earnestly St. Paul's words, "only in the Lord:" whereupon he demandeth of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispensed and granted licence to do against that which the blessed apostle so strictly doth enjoin? And because in defence it might perhaps be replied, seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are infidels, if either party chance to be after converted unto Christianity, this should not make separation between them as long as the unconverted was willing to retain the other on whom the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore then should that let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolve marriage being made? After great reasons shewed why God doth in converts, being married, allow continuance with infidels, and yet disallow that the faithful when they are free, should enter into bonds of wedlock with such, concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, "They that please not the Lord, do even thereby offend the Lord; they do even thereby throw themselves into evil;"[b] that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his displeasure; they make an offer of themselves into the service of that enemy, with whose servants they link themselves in so near a bond. What one syllable is there in all this, prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of Tertullian, as they are by them alleged, are two ways mis-

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not against the word, but that they be according to the word, it may appear by other places, where he saith, That whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received, lib. ii. ad Uxorem.

[b] Quæ domino non placent, utique dominum offendunt, utique malo se inferunt.

understood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to all things in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of women's persons; and in the latter, where *received with hurt*, is put instead of *wilful incurring that which is evil*. And so in some, Tertullian doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, "Whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received;" but, "those women that please not the Lord by their kind of marrying, do even thereby offend the Lord, they do even thereby throw themselves into evil." Somewhat show there is in a second place of Tertullian, which notwithstanding when we have examined, it will be found as the rest are.[a] The Roman Emperor's custom was at certain solemn times to bestow on his soldiers a donative; which donative they received, wearing garlands upon their heads. There were, in the time of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, many who, being soldiers, had been converted unto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still in that military course of life: in which number, one man there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time coming to the tribune of the army to receive his donative, came, but with a garland in his hand, and not in such sort as others did. The tribune, offended hereat, demanded what this singularity would mean: to whom the soldier, *Christianus sum*, I am a Christian. Many there were so besides him, which yet did otherwise at that time; whereupon grew a question, whether a Christian soldier might herein do as the unchristian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them which were very sound in Christian belief, did rather commend the zeal of this man than approve his action. Tertullian was at the same time a Montanist, and an enemy unto the church for condemning that prophetical Spirit which Montanus and his followers did boast they had received? as if in them Christ had performed his last pro-

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 81. And to come yet nearer, where he disputeth against the wearing of crown or garland (which is indifferent in itself), to those which objecting asked, Where the Scripture saith, that a man might not wear a crown? He answereth, by asking, Where the Scripture saith that they may wear? And unto them replying that It is permitted which is not forbidden, he answereth, that It is forbidden, which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatively, holdeth not only in the doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, but even in matters arbitrary and variable by the advice of the church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, unless there be some word which doth permit the use of them: it is not enough that the Scripture speaketh not against them, unless it speak for them: and finally, where it displeaseth the Lord which pleaseth him not, we must of necessity have the word of his mouth to declare his pleasure.

mise; as if to them he had sent the Spirit that should be their perfecter and final instructor in the mysteries of Christian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occasions of contradiction. Wherefore, in honour of that action, and to gall their minds who did not so much commend it, he wrote his book de Corona Militis, not dissembling the stomach wherewith he wrote it. For the first man he commended as one more constant than the rest of his brethren, "who presumed (saith he) that they might well enough serve two Lords." Afterward choler somewhat rising within him, he addeth, "It doth even remain that they should also devise how to rid themselves of his martyrdoms, towards the prophecies of whose Holy Spirit they have already shewn their disdain. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but some of them send the Scriptures before, truss up bag and baggage, make themselves in a readiness that they may fly from city to city; for that is the only point of the gospel which they are careful not to forget. I know even their pastors very well what men they are; in peace lions, harts in time of trouble and fear:" now these men, saith Tertullian, "they must be answered, where do we find it written in Scripture, that a Christian man may not wear a garland?" and as men's speeches uttered in heat of distempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerness than weight, so he that shall mark the proofs alleged, and the answers to things objected in that book, will now and then perhaps espy the like imbecility. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands are charged as transgressors of nature's law, and guilty of sacrilege against God, the Lord of nature, inasmuch as flowers in such sort worn, can neither be smelt nor seen well by those that wear them; and God made flowers sweet and beautiful, that being seen and smelt unto they might so delight. Neither doth Tertullian bewray this weakness in striking only, but also in repelling their strokes with whom he contended. They ask, saith he, "What Scripture is there which doth teach that we should not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we should? for in requiring on the contrary part the aid of Scripture, they do give sentence beforehand that their part ought also by Scripture to be aided." Which answer is of no great force. There is no

Tert. de. Coron. Milit.

necessity, that if I confess I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I should thereby acknowledge my self bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements besides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be against, they all give place and are of no value, yet otherwise are strong and effectual to persuade. Which thing himself well enough understanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but use silence, his resolution in fine is, that in the church a number of things are strictly observed, whereof no law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by use, long usage is a law sufficient; that in civil affairs, when there is no other law, custom itself doth stand for law; that inasmuch as law doth stand upon reason, to allege reason serveth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatsoever is reasonable, the same is lawful, whosoever is the author of it; that the authority of custom is great; finally, that the custom of Christians was then, and had been a long time, not to wear garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend who presumed to violate such a custom by not observing that thing, the very inveterate observation whereof was a law sufficient to bind all men to observe it, unless they could shew some higher law, some law of Scripture, to the contrary. This, presupposed, it may stand then very well with strength and soundness of reason, even thus to answer, "Whereas they ask what Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a garland: we are in this case rather to demand, what Scripture commandeth them? They cannot here allege, that that is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted." For long-received custom forbidding them to do as they did (if so be it did forbid them) there was no excuse in the world to justify their act, unless in the Scripture they could shew some law that did license them thus to break a received custom. Now whereas in all the books of Tertullian besides, there is not so much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do but that we ought to do sundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very book these sentences are brought, to make us believe that Tertullian was of a clean contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon

yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifest the argument of Scripture negative to be of force, not only in doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For Tertullian doth plainly hold even in that book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary, but necessary, inasmuch as the received custom of the church did tie and bind them not to wear garlands, as the heathens did; yea, and farther also he reckoneth up particularly a number of things whereof he expressly concludeth, "Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies;" which is as much as if he had said in express words, Many things there are which concern the discipline of the church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scripture negatively urged may not in any case persuade us, but they must be observed, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any such thing. Tertullian therefore undoubtedly doth not in this book shew himself to be of the same mind with them, by whom his name is pretended.

6. But sith the sacred Scriptures themselves afford oftentimes such arguments as are taken from Divine authority both one way and other; "The Lord hath commanded, therefore it must be:" and again, in like sort, "he hath not, therefore it must not be;" some certainty concerning this point seemeth requisite to be set down. God himself can neither possibly err, nor lead into error. For this cause his testimonies, whatsoever he affirmeth, are always truth and most infallible certainty. Yea, farther, because the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of

The first assertion endeavoured to be confirmed by the Scripture's custom of disputing from Divine authority negatively. 1 John i. 5. "God is light, and there is in him no darkness at all." Heb. vi. 18. "It is impossible that God should lie." Numb. xxiii. 19. "God is not as man, that he should lie."

T. C. l. ii. p. 48. "It is not hard to shew that the prophets have reasoned negatively. As when in the person of the Lord the prophet saith, *Whereof I have not spoken*, Jer. xix. 5. And *which never entered into my heart*, Jer. vii. 31. And where he condemneth them, because they have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord, Isai. xxx. 2. And it may be shewed, that the same kind of argument hath been used in things which are not of the substance of salvation or damnation, and whereof there was no commandment to the contrary, (as in the former there was. Levit. xviii. 21. and xx. 3. Deut. xvii. 16.) In Joshua the children of Israel are charged by the prophet that they asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord, when they entered into covenant with the Gibeonites, Joshua ix. 14. And yet that covenant was not made contrary unto any commandment of God. Moreover, we read that when David had taken this counsel, to build a temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his word, that there should be such a standing-place, where the ark of the covenant and the service should have a certain abiding; and albeit there was no word of God which forbade David to build the temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection and zeal he had to the advancement of his glory) concludeth against David's resolution to build the temple, with this reason; namely, that he had given no commandment of this who should build it, 1 Chron. xvii. 6."

defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are absolute, and lack nothing which they should have for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his speech, the argument negatively is ever more strong and forcible concerning those things that are apparently requisite unto the same end. As for example, God intending to set down sundry times that which in angels is most excellent, hath not any where spoken so highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is the apostle St. Paul's argument. The purpose of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they should offer sacrifice, and what sacrifice was to be offered. To burn their sons in fire unto Baal he did not command them, he spake no such thing, neither came it into his mind; therefore this they ought not to have done. Which argument the prophet Jeremy useth more than once, as being so effectual and strong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded, but forbidden them, and that expressly; yet the prophet chooseth rather to charge them with the fault of making a law unto themselves, than the crime of transgressing a law which God had made. For when the Lord hath once himself precisely set down a form of executing that wherein we are to serve him; the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, than to do that which we are commanded. In this we seem to charge the law of God with hardness only, in that with foolishness: in this we shew ourselves weak and unapt to be doers of his will, in that we take upon us to be controllers of his wisdom: in this we fail to perform the thing which God seeth meet, convenient, and good; in that we presume to see what is meet and convenient, better than God himself. In those actions therefore, the whole form whereof God hath of purpose set down to be observed, we may not otherwise do than exactly as he hath prescribed: in such things negative arguments are strong. Again, with a negative argument David is pressed concerning the purpose he had to build a temple unto the Lord: "Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build me a house to dwell in. Wheresoever I have walked with all Israel, spake I one word to any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me a house?" The Jews urged with

Levit. xviii. 21. xx. 3. Deut. xxviii. 10.

1 Chron. xvii. 6.

a negative argument touching the aid which they sought at the hands of the King of Egypt; "Woe to those rebellious children (saith the Lord) which walk forth to go down into Egypt, and have not asked counsel at my mouth, to strengthen themselves with the strength of Pharaoh." Finally, the league of Joshua with the Gibeonites is likewise with a negative argument touched. It was not as it should be: and why? the Lord gave them not that advice: "They sought not counsel at the mouth of the Lord." By the virtue of which examples, if any man should suppose the force of negative arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture, in such sort as we in this question are pressed therewith, they greatly deceive themselves. For unto which of all these was it said, that they had done amiss in purposing to do, or in doing, any thing at all which the Scripture commanded them not? Our question is, whether all be sin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the Israelites did at any time amiss by following their own minds without asking counsel of God. No, it was that people's singular privilege, a favour which God vouchsafed them above the rest of the world, that in the affairs of their estate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himself gave them extraordinary direction and counsel as oft as they sought it at his hands. Thus God did first by speech unto Moses; after by urim and thummim unto priests; lastly, by dreams and visions unto prophets, from whom in such cases they were to receive the answer of God. Concerning Joshua therefore, thus spake the Lord unto Moses, saying, "He shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him by the judgment of urim before the Lord;" whereof had Joshua been mindful, the fraud of the Gibeonites could not so smoothly have passed unespied till there was no help. The Jews had prophets to have resolved them from the mouth of God himself whether Egyptian aids should profit them, yea or no; but they thought themselves wise enough, and him unworthy to be of their counsel. In this respect therefore was their reproof, though sharp, yet just, albeit there had been no charge precisely given them that they should always take heed of Egypt. But as for David, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a temple, because there was in Scripture no commandment that he should build it, were very injurious; the purpose of

Isaiah xxx. 1, 2.

Josh. ix. 14.

Numb. xxvii. 21.

his heart was religious and godly, the act most worthy of honour and renown; neither could Nathan choose but admire his virtuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beseech God to prosper him therein. But God saw the endless troubles which David should be subject unto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer so good a work till the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. David supposed that it could not stand with the duty which he owed unto God to set himself in a house of cedar-trees, and to behold the ark of the Lord's covenant unsettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by causing Nathan to shew him plainly that it should be no more imputed unto him for a fault than it had been unto the judges of Israel before him, his case being the same which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, nor more unfit for such an action. Wherefore, concerning the force of negative arguments so taken from the authority of Scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this less than nothing. And touching that which unto this purpose is borrowed from the controversy sometimes handled between Mr. Harding[a] and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one university, it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "They learned in the same, that which in contrary camps they did practise:"[b] of these two the one objecting, that with us arguments taken from authority negatively are over common; the Bishop's answer hereunto is, "that this kind of argument is thought to be good, whensoever proof is taken of God's word; and is used, not only by us, but also by St. Paul, and by many of the catholic fathers. St. Paul saith, God said not unto Abraham, In thy seeds all the nations of the earth shall be blessed: but, In thy seed, which is Christ; and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewise, saith Origen, the bread

1 Chron. xvii.

Gal. iii.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 50. Mr. Harding reproacheth the Bishop of Salisbury with this kind of reasoning; unto whom the Bishop answereth, The argument of authority negatively is taken to be good, whensoever proof is taken of God's word, and is used not only by us, but also by many of the catholic fathers. A little after he sheweth the reason why the argument of authority of the Scripture negatively is good; namely, for that the word of God is perfect. In another place unto Mr. Harding, casting him in the teeth with negative arguments, he allegeth places out of Irenæus, Chrysostom, Leo, which reasoned negatively of the authority of the Scriptures. The places which he allegeth be very full and plain in generality, without any such restraints as the answerer imagined, as they are there to be seen.

[b] Vell. Patere. Jugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes, in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis fecerent. Art. i. Divis. 29.

which the Lord gave unto his disciples, saying unto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reserved, till the next day. Such arguments Origen and other learned fathers thought to stand for good, whatsoever misliking Mr. Harding hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's commandments, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath specially charged us, that we should neither put to them nor take from them; and therefore it seemeth good unto them that have learned of Christ, *Unus est magister vester, Christus*, and have heard the voice of God the Father from heaven, *Ipsum audite*. But unto them that add to the word of God what them listeth, and make God's will subject unto their will, and break God's commandments for their own tradition's sake, unto them it seemeth not good." Again, the English Apology alleging the example of the Greeks, how they have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons; it pleaseth Mr. Harding to jest out the matter, to use the help of his wits where strength of truth failed him, and to answer with scoffing at negatives. The Bishop's defence in this case is, "The ancient learned fathers having to deal with politic heretics, that in defence of their errors avouched the judgment of all the old bishops and doctors that had been before them, and the general consent of the primitive and whole universal church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you do now; the better to discover the shameless boldness and nakedness of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewise forced to use the negative, and so to drive the same heretics, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives, which thing to do it was never possible. The ancient father Irenæus thus stayed himself, as we do, by the negative, 'Hoc neque prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque apostoli tradiderunt;—This thing neither did the prophets publish, nor our Lord teach, nor the apostles deliver.' By a like negative, Chrysostom saith, This tree neither Paul planted, nor Apollos watered, nor God increased. In like sort Leo saith, What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the law hath taught, nor the prophets have spoken, nor the gospel hath preached, nor the apostles have delivered? And again, How are the new devices brought in that our fathers never knew? St. Augustine, having reckoned up a great number of the bishops of Rome, by a general negative, saith thus, In all this

Matt. xxiii.
Matt. xvii.
Defens. par. v. cap. 15. divis. 1.
Lib. i. cap. 1.
De incomp. nat. Dei, Hom. 3.
Epist xciii. c. 12.
Epist. xcvii. c. 3.
Epist. clxv.

order of succession of bishops, there is not one bishop found that was a Donatist. St. Gregory, being himself a bishop of Rome, and writing against the title of *universal bishop*, saith thus, None of all my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly title; no bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity. By such negatives, Mr. Harding, we reprove the vanity and novelty of your religion; we tell you none of the catholic, ancient, learned fathers, either Greek or Latin, ever used either your private mass, or your half communion, or your barbarous unknown prayers. Paul never planted them, Apollos never watered them, God never increased them; they are of yourselves, they are not of God." In all this there is not a syllable which any way crosseth us. For concerning arguments negative, taken from human authority, they are here proved to be in some cases very strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofs, when the authors of needless innovations are opposed with such negatives, as that of Leo, "How are these new devices brought in which our fathers never knew?" When their grave and reverend superiors do reckon up unto them as Augustine did to the Donatists, large catalogues of fathers wondered at for their wisdom, piety, and learning, amongst whom for so many ages before us no one did ever so think of the church's affairs as now the world doth begin to be persuaded; surely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such arguments are negative. Much less when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter itself do bear them. For in truth the question is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be so generally good, that in all actions men may urge it? The fathers, I grant, do use very general and large terms, even as Hiero the king did in speaking of Archimedes, "from henceforward whatsoever Archimedes speaketh, it must be believed." His meaning was not that Archimedes could simply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in such sort approved his skill, that he seemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the science he was skilful in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed, that men's speeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they speak. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgment, peruse the Bishop's speeches, and consider well of those negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth

Lib. iv. Ep. 32.

out of Irenæus, Chrysostom and Leo, which three are chosen from among the residue, because the sentences of the others (even as one of theirs also) do make for defence of negative arguments taken from human authority, and not from Divine only. They mention no more restraint in the one than in the other; yet I think themselves will not hereby judge, that the fathers took both to be strong, without restraint unto any special kind of matter wherein they held such argument forcible. Nor doth the Bishop either say or prove any more, than that an argument in some kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions or persuasions.

7. An earnest desire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as truth and reason will bear, let not any think that we travel about a matter not greatly needful: for the scope of all their pleading against man's authority, is to overthrow such orders, laws, and constitutions in the church, as depending thereupon, if they should therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither face nor memory of church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That which they have in this case spoken, I would for brevity's sake let pass; but that the drift of their speech being so dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore to say that simply an argument taken from man's authority doth hold no way, neither affirmatively nor negatively,[a] is hard. By a man's authority we here understand the force which his word hath for the assurance of another's mind that buildeth upon it; as the apostle somewhat did upon their report of the house of Chloe; and the Samaritans in a matter of far greater moment upon the report of a simple woman: for so it is said in St. John's gospel, "Many of the Samaritans of that city believed in him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He hath told me all things that ever I did." The strength of man's authority is affirmatively such, that the

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 25. When the question is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatively nor negatively. The reason is, because the infirmity of man can never attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might speak all things that are to be spoken of it; neither yet be free from error in those things which he speaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only induceth him to some liking or disliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an orator to persuade the simpler sort, than for a disputer to enforce him that is learned. 1 Cor. i. 11. John iv. 39.

weightiest affairs in the world depend thereon. In judgment and justice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the law, "that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be confirmed?" This the law of God would not say if there were in a man's testimony no force at all to prove any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is some credit to be given to the testimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment, we see the contrary both acknowledged and universally practised also throughout the world. The sentences of wise and expert men were never but highly esteemed. Let the title of a man's right be called in question, are we not bold to rely and build upon the judgment of such as are famous for their skill in the laws of this land? In matter of state, the weight many times of some one man's authority is thought reason sufficient even to sway over whole nations. And this is not only with the simple sort; but the learneder and wiser we are, the more such arguments in such cases prevail with us. The reason why the simpler sort are moved with authority, is the conscience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to pass, that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to dislike them than know wherefore they should allow and follow their judgments. Contrariwise with them that are skilful, authority is much more strong and forcible; because they only are able to discern how just cause there is why to some men's authority so much should be attributed. For which cause the name of Hippocrates (no doubt) was more effectual to persuade even such men as Galen himself than to move a silly empiric; so that the very self-same argument in this kind, which doth but induce the vulgar sort to like, may constrain the wiser to yield. And therefore not orators only with the people, but even the very profoundest disputers in all faculties, have thereby often with the best learned prevailed most. As for arguments taken from human authority, and that negatively, for example's sake, if we should think the assembling of the people of God together by the sound of a bell, the presenting of infants at the holy font by such as we commonly call their godfathers, or any other the like received custom, to be impious, because some men of whom we think very reverently, have in their books and writings no where mentioned or taught that such things should be in the church, this reasoning were subject unto just reproof; it were but feeble, weak, and un-

Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16.

sound. Notwithstanding even negatively an argument from human authority may be strong, as namely thus: the chronicles of England mention no more than only six kings bearing the name of Edward since the time of the last conquest; therefore it cannot be there should be more. So that if the question be of the authority of a man's testimony, we cannot simply avouch either that affirmatively it doth not any way hold, or that it hath only force to induce the simpler sort, and not to constrain men of understanding and ripe judgment to yield assent; or that negatively it hath in it no strength at all. For unto every of these the contrary is most plain. Neither doth that which is alleged concerning the infirmity of men overthrow or disapprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things escape them; and in many things they may be deceived; yea, those things which they do know, they may either forget, or upon sundry indirect considerations let pass; and although themselves do not err, yet may they through malice or vanity even of purpose deceive others. Howbeit, infinite cases there are wherein all these impediments and lets are so manifestly excluded, that there is no show or colour whereby any such exception may be taken, but that the testimony of man will stand as a ground of infallible assurance. That there is a city of Rome, that Pius Quintus and Gregory the Thirteenth, and others have been popes of Rome, I suppose we are certainly enough persuaded. The ground of our persuasion, who never saw the place nor persons beforenamed, can be nothing but man's testimony. Will any man here notwithstanding, allege those mentioned human infirmities as reasons why these things should be mistrusted or doubted of? yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and strength of man's testimony were to shake the very fortress of God's truth. For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief, yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach us the things that are of God, unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things. Some way therefore, notwithstanding man's infirmity, yet his authority may enforce assent. Upon better advice and deliberation so much is perceived, and at the length

confessed, that arguments taken from the authority of men, may not only so far forth as hath been declared, but farther also be of some force in human sciences; which force be it never so small, doth shew that they are not utterly nought. But in matters Divine it is still maintained stiffly, that they have no manner of force at all.[a] Howbeit, the very self-same reason, which causeth to yield that they are of some force in the one, will at the length constrain also to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural strength of man's wit may by experience and study attain unto such ripeness in the knowledge of things human, that men in this respect may presume to build somewhat upon their judgment; what reason have we to think but that even in matters Divine, the like wits furnished with necessary helps, exercised in Scripture with like diligence, and assisted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto so much perfection of knowledge, that men should have just cause, when any thing pertinent unto faith and religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the sentence of so grave, wise, and learned, in that faculty shall judge most sound? for the controversy is of the weight of such men's judgments. Let it therefore be suspected; let it be taken as gross, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, whatsoever, concerning things Divine above nature, shall at any time be spoken as out of the mouths of mere natural men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are discerned; for this we contend not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to aspire unto knowledge by, whose exercises, labours, and Divine studies he hath so blest, that the world for their great and rare skill that way hath them in singular admiration; may

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 10. Although that kind of argument of authority of men is good neither in human nor Divine sciences; yet it hath some small force in human sciences, forasmuch as naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come to some ripeness of judgment in those sciences, which in Divine matters hath no force at all; as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more judge of them than a blind man of colours, yea so far is it from drawing credit if it be barely spoken without reason and testimony of Scripture, that it carrieth also a suspicion of untruth, whatsoever proceedeth from him; which the apostle did well note, when, to signify a thing corruptly spoken, and against the truth, he saith, That it is spoken according to man, Rom. iii. He saith not, as a wicked and lying man, but simply as a man: and although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for so much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is most advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and disordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from speaking of the truth), no man's authority, with the church especially, and those that are called and persuaded of the authority of the word of God, can bring any assurance unto the conscience.

we reject even their judgment likewise, as being utterly of no moment? for my own part, I dare not so lightly esteem of the church, and of the principal pillars therein. The truth is, that the mind of man desireth evermore to know the truth according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men, is that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this, there what appeareth to be true by strong and invincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline. Scripture with Christian men being received as the word of God; that for which we have probable, yea, that which we have necessary reason for, yea, that which we see with our eyes, is not thought so sure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth, because we hold that his speech revealeth there what himself seeth, and therefore the strongest proof of all, and the most necessarily assented unto by us (which do thus receive the Scripture), is the Scripture. Now it is not required, nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto any thing other assent than such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto. For which cause even in matters Divine, concerning some things we may lawfully doubt and suspend our judgment, inclining neither to one side or other; as namely, touching the time of the fall both of man and angels; of some things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable and not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that men have their souls rather by creation than propagation, or that the mother of our Lord lived always in the state of virginity as well after his birth as before (for of these two, the one, her virginity before, is a thing which of necessity we must believe; the other, her continuance in the same state always, hath more likelihood of truth than the contrary); finally, in all things then are our consciences best resolved, and in a most agreeable sort unto God and nature settled, when they are so far persuaded as those grounds of persuasions which are to be had will bear. Which thing I do so much the rather set down, for that I see how a number of souls are, for want of right information in this point, often-

times grievously vexed. When bare and unbuilded conclusions are put into their minds, they finding not themselves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine, that this proceedeth only from lack of faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them as it doth in true believers. By this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity; whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is, which the truth hath either in itself or through proof, such is the heart's assent thereunto; neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be. I grant that proof derived from the authority of man's judgment is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof; and therefore, although ten thousand general councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not choose but overweigh them all; inasmuch for them to have been deceived, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstrative reason or testimony Divine should deceive. Howbeit, in defect of proof infallible, because the mind doth rather follow probable persuasions than approve the things that have in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a question concerning matter of doctrine were proposed, and on the one side no kind of proof appearing, there should on the other be alleged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest divines in the world have ever thought; although it did not appear what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that judgment, yet to their very bare judgment somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecilities which are incident unto our nature. And whereas it is thought, that especially with the church, and those that are called and persuaded of the authority of the word of God, man's authority with them especially should not prevail; it must and doth prevail even with them, yea, with them especially, as far as equity requireth, and farther we maintain it not.[a] For men to be tied

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 21. Of divers sentences of the fathers themselves (whereby some have likened them to brute beasts without reason, which suffer themselves to be led by the judgment and authority of others, some have preferred the judgment of one simple rude man alleging reason, unto companies of learned men), I will content myself at this time with two or three sentences. Irenæus saith, Whatsoever is to be

and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, they know not, nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men either against or above reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men, be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto reason, the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth allege it; but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place. Irenæus, writing against Marcion, which held one God author of the Old Testament, and another of the New, to prove that the apostles preached the same God which was known before to the Jews, he copiously allegeth sundry their sermons and speeches uttered concerning that matter and recorded in Scripture. And lest any should be wearied with such store of allegations, in the end he concludeth, "While we labour for these demonstrations out of Scripture, and do summarily declare the things which many ways have been spoken, be contented quietly to hear, and do not think my speech tedious: Quoniam ostensiones quæ sunt in Scripturis, non possunt ostendi nisi ex ipsis Scripturis, because demonstrations that are in Scripture may not otherwise be shewed, than by citing them out of the Scriptures themselves where they are." Which words make so little unto the purpose, that they seem, as it were, offended at him which hath called them thus solemnly forth to say nothing. And concerning the verdict of St. Jerome, if no man, be he never so well learned, have after the apostles any

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shewed in the Scripture, cannot be shewed but out of the Scriptures themselves, lib. iii. cap. 12. Jerome saith, No man, be he never so holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the apostles, in Psal. lxxxvi. Augustine saith, That he will believe none, how godly and learned soever he be, unless he confirm his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them. Ep. 18. And in another place, Hear this, The Lord saith; Hear not this, Donatus saith, Rogatus saith, Vincentius saith, Hilarius saith, Ambrose saith, Augustine saith, but hearken unto this, The Lord saith, Ep. viii. And again, having to do with an Arian, he affirmeth, that neither he ought to bring forth the council of Nice, nor the other the council of Arimine, thereby to bring prejudice each to other; neither ought the Arian to be holden by the authority of the one, nor himself by the authority of the other, but by the Scriptures, which are witnesses proper to neither, but common to both, matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason, ought to be debated, Cont. Max. Arian. p. 14. And in another place against Petil. the Donatist, he saith, Let not these words be heard between us, I say, You say; let us hear this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and by, speaking of the Scriptures, he saith, There let us seek the church, there let us try the cause. De Unit. Eccles. cap. 3. Hereby it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth.

authority to publish new doctrine as from Heaven, and to require the world's assent as unto truth received by prophetical revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned men's judgments in opening that truth, which by being conversant in the apostles' writings, they have themselves from thence learned? St. Augustine exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken to what God speaketh. His purpose is not (I think) that we should stop our ears against his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean simply that audience should altogether be denied unto men; but either that if men speak one thing, and God himself teach another, then he, not they, is to be obeyed; or if they both speak the same thing, yet then also man's speech is unworthy of hearing, not simply, but in comparison of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this case forbidden to hear what men of judgment think it to be? If not, then this allegation also might very well have been spared. In that ancient strife which was between the catholic fathers and Arians, Donatists and others of like perverse and froward disposition, as long as to fathers or councils alleged on the one side, the like by the contrary side were opposed, impossible it was that ever the question should by this means grow unto any issue or end. The Scripture they both believed; the Scripture they knew could not give sentence on both sides; by Scripture the controversy between them was such as might be determined. In this case what madness was it with such kinds of proofs to nourish their contention, when there were such effectual means to end all controversy that was between them! Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appear, that an argument of authority of man affirmatively, is in matters Divine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inserted into the minds of the vulgar sort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we see, it hath already made thousands so headstrong even in gross and palpable errors, that a man whose capacity will scarce serve him to utter five words in sensible manner, blusheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare Yea, as good as the Nay of all the wise, grave, and learned judgments that are in the whole world: which insolency must be repressed, or it will be the very bane of Christian religion. Our Lord's disciples marking what speech he uttered unto them, and at

the same time calling to mind a common opinion held by the scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Master it seemed unto them that there was some contradiction, which they could not themselves answer with full satisfaction of their own minds: the doubt they propose to our Saviour, saying, "Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?" They knew that the scribes did err greatly, and that many ways, even in matters of their own profession. They notwithstanding, thought the judgment of the very scribes in matters Divine to be of some value; some probability they thought there was that Elias should come, inasmuch as the scribes said it. Now no truth can contradict any truth. Desirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might stand together; that which they knew could not be false, because Christ spake it; and this which to them did seem true, only because the scribes had said it. For the Scripture, from whence the scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. We do not find that our Saviour reproved them of error for thinking the judgment of the scribes to be worth the objecting, for esteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be persuaded that the will of God is, we should so far reject the authority of men as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a question, whether they that urge us unto this be themselves so persuaded indeed. Men do sometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confess they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not general with all men for the most part. When the judgments of learned men are alleged against them, what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppose unto them the judgments of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them some force and weight, for which they are loath the cause they maintain should be so much weakened as their testimony is available. Again, what reason is there why, alleging testimonies as proofs, men give them some title of credit, honour, and estimation, whom they allege, unless beforehand it be sufficiently known who they are? What reason hereof but only a common ingrafted persuasion, that in some men there may be found such qualities as are able to countervail those exceptions which might be taken against them, and that such men's authority is not lightly to be shaken off? Shall I add farther, that the force of arguments drawn from the authority of

Scripture itself, as scriptures commonly are alleged, shall (being sifted) be found to depend upon the strength of this so-much-despised and debased authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftener than we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proof which is taken from thence must needs be of all other most invincible; yet this strength it hath not, unless it avouch the self-same thing for which it is brought. If there be either undeniable appearance that so it doth, or reason such as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in strength and value exceedeth all. But for the most part, even such as are readiest to cite for one thing five hundred sentences of Holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alleged? Is not their surest ground most commonly, either some probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking those scriptures as they do? Which notwithstanding, to mean otherwise than they take them, it is not still altogether impossible. So that now and then they ground themselves on human authority, even when they most pretend Divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controversy about that discipline which is so earnestly urged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleged to prove that the whole Christian world for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men term it, the discipline of God. Howbeit, examine, sift, and resolve, their alleged proofs, till you come to the very root from whence they spring, the heart wherein their strength lieth; and it shall clearly appear unto any man of judgment, that the most which can be inferred upon such plenty of Divine testimonies is only this, that some things which they maintain, as far as some men can probably conjecture, do seem to have been out of Scripture not absurdly gathered. Is this a warrant sufficient for any man's conscience to build such proceedings upon, as have been and are put in ure for the establishment of that cause? But to conclude, I would gladly understand how it cometh to pass, that they which so peremptorily do maintain that human authority is nothing worth, are in the cause which they favour so careful to have the common sort of men persuaded, that the wisest, the godliest, and the best learned in all Christendom, are that way given, seeing they judge this to make nothing in the world for them? *Again*, how cometh it to pass, they cannot abide that autho-

rity should be alleged on the other side, if there be no force at all in authorities on one side or other? Wherefore labour they to strip their adversaries of such furniture as doth not help? Why take they such needless pains to furnish also their own cause with the like? If it be void and to no purpose that the names of men are so frequent in their books, what did move them to bring them in, or doth to suffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is solved, "They do it but after the truth made manifest, first by reason, or by Scripture: they do it not, but to control the enemies of truth, who bear themselves bold upon human authority making not for them, but against them rather."[a] Which answers are nothing: for in what place, or upon what consideration soever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it.

A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

8. But to the end it may more plainly appear what we are to judge of their sentences, and of the cause itself wherein they are alleged; first, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil: for although it be granted, that no action is properly termed good or evil unless it be voluntary; yet this can be no let to our former assertion, That all actions of men endued with the use of reason, are generally either good or evil; because even those things are done voluntarily by us which other creatures do naturally, inasmuch as we might stay our doing of them if he would. Beasts naturally do take their food and rest when it offereth itself unto them. If men did so too, and could not do otherwise of themselves, there were no place for any such reproof as that of our Saviour Christ unto his disciples, "Could ye not watch with me one hour?" That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, must needs be done with deliberate consideration of some reasonable cause wherefore we rather should do it than not. Whereupon it seemeth that in such actions only, those are said to be good or evil which are capable of deliberation: so that many things being hourly done by men, wherein they need not use with

Matt. xxvi. 40.

[a] If at any time it happened unto Augustine (as it did against the Donatists and others) to allege the authority of the ancient fathers, which had been before him; yet this was not done before he had laid a sure foundation of his cause in the Scriptures, and that also being provoked by the adversaries of the truth, who bare themselves high of some council, or of some man of name that had favoured that part. T. C. lib. ii. c. 21.

themselves any manner of consultation at all, it may perhaps hereby seem that well or ill-doing belongeth only to our weightier affairs, and to those deeds which are of so great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perilous, and peradventure unsound also. I do rather incline to think, that seeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary, and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice, and all choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause wherefore we make it; where the reasonable cause of such actions so readily offereth itself that it needeth not be sought for, in those things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend itself, if there were not some apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we use, where there is doubt what we should incline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needless in regard of the agent, which seeth already what to resolve upon. It hath no apparent absurdity therefore in it to think that, all actions of men endued with the use of reason, are generally either good or evil. Whatsoever is good, the same is also approved of God; and according unto the sundry degrees of goodness, the kinds of Divine approbation are in like sort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in so mean a degree of goodness, that men are only not disproved nor disallowed of God for them. "No man hateth his own flesh." "If ye do good unto them that do so to you, the very publicans themselves do as much." "They are worse then infidels that have no care to provide for their own." In actions of this sort, the very light of nature alone may discover that which is so far forth in the sight of God allowable. Some things in such sort are allowed, that they be also required as necessary unto salvation, by way of direct, immediate, and proper necessity final; so that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary course be saved, nor by any means be excluded from life observing them. In actions of this kind, our chiefest direction is from Scripture: for nature is no sufficient teacher what we should do that we may attain unto life everlasting. The insufficiency of the light of nature is by the light of Scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that farther light than this hath added there doth not need unto that end.

Ephes. v. 29.
Matt. v. 46.
1 Tim. v. 8.

Finally, some things, although not so required of necessity, that to leave them undone excludeth from salvation, are notwithstanding of so great dignity and acceptation with God, that most ample reward in heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no commandment, either in nature or Scripture, which doth exact them at our hands; yet those motives that are in both, which draw most effectually our minds unto them. In this kind there is not the least action, but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our bliss. For which cause our Saviour doth plainly witness, that there shall not be as much as a cup of cold water bestowed for his sake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatsoever difference there is between the states of saints in glory; hither we refer whatsoever belongeth unto the highest perfection of man by way of service towards God: hereunto that fervour and first love of Christians did bend itself, causing them to sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed apostles' feet. Hereat St. Paul undoubtedly did aim, in so far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enjoined duty tied him unto. Wherefore seeing, that in all these several kinds of actions, there can be nothing possibly evil which God approveth; and that he approveth much more than he doth command; and that his very commandments in some kind, as namely, his precepts comprehended in the law of nature, may be otherwise known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howsoever we know them, must needs be acceptable in his sight: let them with whom we have hither disputed, consider well how it can stand with reason to make the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The testimonies of God are true, the testimonies of God are perfect, the testimonies of God are all sufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpose, and left his intent to be accomplished by our devisings. What the Scripture purposeth, the same in all points it doth perform. Howbeit, that here we swerve not in judgment, one thing especially we must observe, namely, that the absolute perfection of Scripture is seen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to pass, that first such as imagine the general and main drift of the body of sacred

Matt. x. 42.

Acts iv. 34. 35.

1 Thess. ii. 7. 9.

Scripture not to be so large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full instruction in all things unto salvation necessary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwise in this life attain unto; they are by this very mean induced either still to look for new revelations from heaven, or else dangerously to add to the word of God uncertain tradition, that so the doctrine of man's salvation may be complete; which doctrine we constantly hold in all respects without any such thing added to be so complete, that we utterly refuse as much as once to acquaint ourselves with any thing farther. Whatsoever, to make up the doctrine of man's salvation, is added as in supply of the Scripture's insufficiency, we reject it. Scripture purposing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Again, the scope and purpose of God in delivering the Holy Scripture, such as do take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary side racking and stretching it farther than by him was meant, are drawn into sundry as great inconveniences. These, pretending the Scripture's perfection, infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawful to be done must needs be contained. We count those things perfect which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were instituted. As, therefore, God created every part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to say, in all points sufficient unto that use for which he appointed it; so the Scripture, yea, every sentence thereof, is perfect, and wanteth nothing requisite unto that purpose for which God delivered the same. So that if hereupon we conclude, that because the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude so of every sentence, as of the whole sum and body thereof, unless we first of all prove that it was the drift, scope, and purpose, of Almighty God in Holy Scripture, to comprise all things which man may practise. But admit this, and mark, I beseech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his church should clean have abrogated amongst them the law of nature, which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both general principles for directing of human actions are comprehended, and conclusions derived from them; upon which conclusions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a tor-

ment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despairs.[a] Not that the Scripture itself doth cause any such thing (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is resolute assurance and certainty in that it teacheth), but the necessities of this life urging men to do that which the light of nature, common discretion, and judgment of itself, directeth them unto; on the other side, this doctrine teaching them that so to do were to sin against their own souls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity whatsoever they go about, and have not first the sacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it choose but bring the simple a thousand times to their wits' end, how can it choose but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life, to find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to do (seem we in Scripture never so expert), would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what misery this strict opinion would breed, besides the stops it would make in the whole course of all men's lives and actions; make all things sin which we do by direction of nature's light, and by the rule of common discretion, without thinking at all upon Scripture. Admit this position, and parents shall cause their children to sin as oft as they cause them to do any thing before they come to years of capacity, and be ripe for knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it shall not be with masters as it was with him in the gospel; but servants being commanded to go, shall stand still till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which as it standeth with Christian duty in some cases, so in common affairs to require it were most unfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scripture to be insufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be saved. Others justly condemning this opinion, grow likewise unto a

Luke vii. 8.

[a] Where this doctrine is accused of bringing men to despair; it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to despair, against which this doctrine offereth the remedy, it must need be that it bringeth comfort and joy to the conscience of man. T. C. lib. p. 6.

dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort, that to do any thing according to any other law, were not only unnecessary, but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful and sinful. Whatsoever is spoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwise than as the truth is, though it seem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praises given unto men, do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so we must likewise take great heed lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly, to be less reverently esteemed. I therefore leave it to themselves to consider, whether they have in this first point overshot themselves or not; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is most sincere, as I am verily persuaded theirs in this case was.

BOOK III.

Concerning their second assertion, that in Scripture there must be of necessity contained a form of church polity, the laws whereof may in nowise be altered.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS THIRD BOOK.

1. What the church is, and in what respect laws of polity are thereunto necessarily required.
2. Whether it be necessary that some particular form of church polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such form are not of necessity to salvation.
3. That matters of church polity are different from matters of faith and salvation, and that they themselves so teach, which are our reprovers for so teaching.
4. That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the soundness of truth may be given.
5. Their meaning who first urged against the polity of the church of England, that nothing ought to be established in the church more than is commanded by the word of God.
6. How great injury men by so thinking should offer unto all the churches of God.
7. A shift notwithstanding to maintain it, by interpreting *commanded*, as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set down in Scripture particularly, and lesser framed by the general rules of Scripture.
8. Another device to defend the same, by expounding *commanded*, as if it did signify *grounded* on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by the light of natural reason only.
9. How laws for the polity of the church may be made by the advice of men, and how those being not repugnant to the word of God are approved in his sight.

10. That neither God's being the author of laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.
11. Whether Christ must needs intend laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other law than himself did deliver.

What the church is, and in what respect laws of polity are thereunto necessarily required.

ALBEIT the substance of those controversies whereinto we have begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the church of Christ, than of any thing wherein the nature and being of the church consisteth: yet because the subject or matter which this position concerneth, is, *a form of church government, or church polity;* it therefore behoveth us so far forth to consider the nature of the church, as is requisite for men's more clear and plain understanding in what respect laws of polity or government are necessary thereunto. That church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and saving mercy which God sheweth towards his church, the only proper subject thereof is this church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands." (John x. 28.) They who are of this society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not objects unto our sense; only unto God who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. All men knew Nathaniel to be an Israelite. (i. 47.) But our Saviour, piercing deeper, giveth farther testimony of him than men could have done with such certainty as he did, "Behold indeed an Israelite, in whom there is no guile." (xxi. 15.) If we profess as Peter did, that we love the Lord, and profess it in the hearing of men; charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do, as long as they see no proof to the contrary. But that our love is

1 Tim. i. 5. sound and sincere, that it cometh from "a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith unfeigned," who can pronounce, saving only the Searcher of all men's hearts, who intuitively doth know in this kind who are his? And as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness, belong to the mystical church; even so on the other side, when we read of any duty which the church of God is bound unto, the church whom this doth concern is a sensible known company. And this visible church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end. Which company being divided in two moieties, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ, that part which since the coming of Christ, partly hath embraced and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian religion, we term as by a more proper name the church of Christ. And therefore the apostle affirmeth plainly of all men Christian, that be they Jews or gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but one body.[a] The unity of which visible body and church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that one Lord, whose servants they all profess themselves; that one faith which they all acknowledge, that one baptism wherewith they are all initiated. The visible church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man. "Let all the house of Israel know for certainty (saith Peter), that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, even this Jesus whom ye have crucified." Christians therefore they are not, "which call not him their Master and Lord." And from hence it came, that first at Antioch, and afterward throughout the whole world, all that were of the church visible were called Christians, even amongst the heathens; which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the estimation of the rest of the world, even Christ Jesus himself was execrable;[b] for whose sake all men were so likewise which

Acts ii. 36.

John xiii. 13. Col. iii. 24. iv. 1.

[a] That he might reconcile both unto God in one body. Ephes. ii. 16. That the Gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same body. Ephes. iii. 16. Vide T. p. 3. q. 7. art. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Ephes. iv. 5.

[b] Nero quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. 1 Cor. i. 23. *Vide* et Tacitum, lib. Annal. xv.

did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himself did foresee, and therefore armed his church to the end they might sustain it without discomfort. "All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake; yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." John xv. 21. "These things I tell you, that when the hour shall come, ye may then call to mind how I told you beforehand of them." xvi. 2. 4. But our naming of Jesus Christ our Lord is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that faith which Christ hath published unto the world. To shew that the angel of Pergamus continued in Christianity, behold how the Spirit of Christ speaketh, "Thou keepest my name, and thou hast not denied my faith." Apoc. ii. 13. Concerning which faith, "the rule thereof (saith Tertullian) is one alone, immoveable, and no way possible to be better framed anew." Tertul. de Virgin. Veland. What rule that is, he sheweth by rehearsing those few articles of Christian belief. And before Tertullian Ireny; "the church, though scattered through the whole world, unto the utmost borders of the earth, hath from the apostles and their disciples received belief." Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. i. cap. 2. &c. The parts of which belief he also reciteth in substance the very same with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth, "This faith, the church being spread far and wide, preserveth as if one house did contain them: these things it equally embraceth, as though it had even one soul, one heart, and no more: it publisheth, teacheth, and delivereth these things with uniform consent, as if God had given it but one only tongue wherewith to speak. He which amongst the guides of the church is best able to speak, uttereth no more than this; and less than this, the most simple do not utter, when they make profession of their faith." Now although we know the Christian faith and allow of it, yet in this respect we are but entering; entered we are not into the visible church before our admittance by the door of baptism. Wherefore, immediately upon the acknowledgment of Christian faith, the eunuch (we see) was baptized by Philip, Paul by Ananias, by Peter a huge multitude containing three thousand souls; which being once baptized, were reckoned in the number of souls added to the visible church. Acts viii. 38. xxii. 16. ii. 41. As for those virtues that belong unto moral righteousness and honesty of life, we do not mention them, because they are not proper unto Christian men, as they are Christian, but do concern them as they are men. True it is, the want of these virtues excludeth from salvation. So doth much more the absence of inward belief

of heart; so do despair and lack of hope; so emptiness of Christian love and charity. But we speak now of the visible church, whose children are signed with this mark, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." In whomsoever these things are, the church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is, that Saracens, Jews, and infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the church. Others we may not deny to be of the visible church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by external profession they be Christians, then they are of the visible church of Christ; and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such. Is it then possible, that the self-same men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan, and to the church of Jesus Christ? Unto that church which is his mystical body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites, true sons of Abraham, true servants and saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and church of Jesus Christ, those may be and oftentimes are in respect of the main parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of
Matt. xiii. 47. the sounder part of the visible church most execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the kingdom of heaven to a net,
xiii. 24. whereunto all which cometh, neither is, nor seemeth fish: his church he compareth unto a field, where tares, manifestly known and seen by all man, do grow intermingled with good corn; and even so shall continue till the final consummation of the world. God hath had ever, and ever shall have, some
Exod. xxxii. church visible upon earth. When the people of God wor-
Ps. cvi. 19, 20. shipped the calf in the wilderness; when they adored the
2 Kings xviii. 4. brazen serpent; when they served the gods of the nations;
Jer. when they bowed their knees to Baal; when they burnt in-
31. *cense* and offered sacrifice unto idols: true it is, the wrath *of God* was most fiercely inflamed against them, their pro-

phets justly condemned them as an adulterous seed, and a wicked generation of miscreants, which had forsaken the living God; and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraceth his faithful children. Howbeit, retaining the law of God, and the holy seal of his covenant, the sheep of his visible flock they continued even in the depth of their disobedience and rebellion. Wherefore not only amongst them God always had his church, because he had thousands which never bowed their knees to Baal; but whose knees were bowed unto Baal, even they were also of the visible church of God. Nor did the prophet so complain, as if that church had been quite and clean extinguished; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the world any besides himself that carried a true and an upright heart towards God, with care to serve him according unto his holy will. For lack of diligent observing the difference, first, between the church of God, mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing else, who think that in the time of the first world the family of Noah did contain all that were of the visible church of God. From whence it grew, and from no other cause in the world, that the African bishops in the council of Carthage, knowing how the administration of baptism belongeth only to the church, and supposing that heretics, which were apparently severed from the sound believing church, could not possibly be of the church of Jesus Christ, thought it utterly against reason, that baptism administered by men of corrupt belief, should be accounted as a sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization, their arguments are built upon the forealleged ground, "That heretics are not at all any part of the church of Christ. Our Saviour founded his church on a rock, and not upon heresy. Power of baptizing he gave to his apostles, unto heretics he gave it not. Wherefore they that are without the church, and oppose themselves against Christ, do but scatter the sheep and flock. Without the church, baptize they cannot." Again, "Are heretics Christians, or are they not? If they be Christians, wherefore remain they not in God's church? If they be no Christians, how make they Christians? Or to what purpose shall these words of the

2 Kings xxii. 17. Isa. lvii. 3. i. 4. lx. 15. Jer. xiii. 11.

1 Kings xix. 18.

Fortunat. in Concil. Car. Matt. vii. 24. xvi. 18. xxviii. 19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil. Matt. xii. 30.

Lord serve?—He which is not with me, is against me; and, He which gathereth not with me, scattereth? Wherefore evident it is, that upon misbegotten children and the brood of antichrist, without rebaptization, the Holy Ghost cannot descend." But none in this case so earnest as Cyprian: "I know no baptism but one, and that in the church only; none without the church, where he that doth cast out the devil, hath the devil: he doth examine about belief, whose lips and words do breathe forth a canker: the faithless doth offer the articles of faith; a wicked creature forgiveth wickedness; in the name of Christ, antichrist signeth; he which is cursed of God, blesseth; a dead carrion promiseth life; a man unpeaceable giveth peace; a blasphemer calleth upon the name of God; a profane person doth exercise priesthood; a sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the altar; and in the neck of all these that evil also cometh; the eucharist a very bishop of the devil doth presume to consecrate." All this was true, but not sufficient to prove that heretics were in no sort any part of the visible church of Christ, and consequently their baptism, no baptism. This opinion therefore was afterward both condemned by a better advised council, and also revoked by the chiefest of the authors thereof themselves. What is it but only the self-same error and misconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewise possessed, they ask us where our church did lurk, in what cave of the earth it slept, for so many hundreds of years together, before the birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion, that Luther did erect a new church of Christ. No, the church of Christ which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end. Of which church, all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. In the days of Abia, it plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more free from pollution than Israel; as that solemn oration sheweth, wherein he pleadeth for the one against the other in this wise:—"O Jeroboam, and all Israel, hear you me: have ye not driven away the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made your priests like the people of nations? Whosoever cometh to consecrate with a young bullock, and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forsaken him; and the priests, the sons of Aaron, minister unto the Lord every morning and every even-

In Concilio Niceno. Vid. Hieron. Dial. advers. Luciferia.

2 Chron. xiii.

ing, burnt-offerings and sweet incense; and the bread is set in order upon the pure table, and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof to burn every evening; for we keep the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forsaken him." In St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reproved; they of Galatia much more out of square. In St. John's time, Ephesus and Smyrna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the church we were of before. In the church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none, but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometime been idolatrous, became afterward more soundly religious, by renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim "be joined to idols," the counsel of the prophet is, "let him alone. If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin." "If it seem evil unto you (saith Joshua), to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods whom your fathers served beyond the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I and mine house will serve the Lord." The indisposition therefore of the church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God; in like sort with Rome, we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we "all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose church we are." As there are which make the church of Rome utterly no church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in their doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who, under pretence of ima-

Hos. iv. 15.

Josh. xxiv. 15.

Rom. xi. 28.

gined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the church of England itself. But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the visible church. If an infidel should pursue to death a heretic professing Christianity, only for Christian profession's sake, could we deny unto him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the church. Heretics therefore are not utterly cut off from the visible church of Christ. If the fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true visible church of Christ, and heretical companies, opposite; they are to be construed as separating heretics, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowship of sound believers. For where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the church, deny directly, and utterly reject, the very principles of Christianity; which heretics embrace, and err only by misconstruction. Whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the principles of Christian faith, are notwithstanding by them held otherwise, and maintained as most consonant thereunto. Wherefore being Christians in regard of the general truth of Christ which they openly profess; yet they are by the fathers every where spoken of, as men clean excluded out of the right believing church, by reason of their particular errors, for which all that are of a sound belief must needs condemn them. In this consideration, the answer of Calvin unto Farel, concerning the children of popish parents, doth seem crazed. "Whereas (saith he) you ask our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongst you, whether ministers of our order, professing the pure doctrine of the gospel, may lawfully admit unto baptism an infant whose father is a stranger unto our churches, and whose mother hath fallen from us unto the papacy, so that both the parents are popish: thus we have thought good to answer; namely, that it is an absurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And sith papists' children are such, we see not how it should be lawful to minister baptism unto them." Sounder a great deal is the answer of the ecclesiastical college of Geneva unto Knox, who having signified unto them, that himself did not think it lawful to baptize bastards, or the child-

Calvin. Epist. 149.

ren of idolaters (he meaneth papists), or of persons excommunicate, till either the parents had by repentance submitted themselves unto the church, or else their children being grown unto the years of understanding, should come and sue for their own baptism; "For thus thinking (saith he), I am thought to be over severe, and that not only by them which are popish, but even in their judgments also who think themselves maintainers of the truth." Master Knox's oversight herein they controlled. Their sentence was, "Wheresoever the profession of Christianity hath not utterly perished and been extinct, infants are beguiled of their right if the common seal be denied them." Which conclusion in itself is sound, although it seemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they build it. For the reason which they yield of their sentence, is this; "The promise which God doth make to the faithful concerning their seed, reacheth unto a thousand generations; it resteth not only in the first degree of descent. Infants therefore whose great-grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in that respect belong to the body of the church, although the fathers and grandfathers of whom they descend, have been apostates: because the tenure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred years ago and more in their ancient predecessors, cannot with justice be defeated and broken off by their parents' impiety coming between." By which reason of theirs, although it seem that all the world may be baptized, inasmuch as no man living is a thousand descents removed from Adam himself; yet we mean not at this time, either to uphold, or to overthrow it; only their alleged conclusion we embrace, so it be construed in this sort: "That forasmuch as men remain in the visible church, till they utterly renounce the profession of Christianity, we may not deny unto infants their right, by withholding from them the public sign of holy baptism, if they be born where the outward acknowledgment of Christianity is not clean gone and extinguished." For being in such sort born, their parents are within the church, and therefore their birth doth give them interest and right in baptism. Albeit not every error and fault, yet heresies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forsaken, exclude quite and clean from that salvation which belongeth unto the mystical body of Christ; yea, they also make a separation from the visible sound church of Christ; altogether from the visible

Epist. 283.

Epist. 285.

church neither the one nor the other doth sever. As for the act of excommunication, it neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible, but only from fellowship with the visible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the church of Rome deny, that her enemies, whom she holdeth always for heretics, do at all appertain to the church of Christ; when her own so freely grant, that albeit the pope (as they say) cannot teach heresy nor propound error, he may notwithstanding himself worship idols, think amiss concerning matters of faith, yea, give himself unto acts diabolical, even being pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the church of Christ under the colour and pretence of heresy, when they cannot but grant it possible, even for him to be as touching his own personal persuasion heretical, who in their opinion not only is of the church, but holdeth the chiefest place of authority over the same? But of these things we are not now to dispute. That which already we have set down, is for our present purpose sufficient. By the church therefore, in this question, we understand no other than only the visible church. For preservation of Christianity there is not any thing more needful, than that such as are of the visible church have mutual fellowship and society one with another. In which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the catholic church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct societies, every of which is termed a church within itself. In this sense the church is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society. For although the name of the church be given unto Christian assemblies, although any number of Christian men congregated may be termed by the name of a church, yet assemblies properly are rather things that belong to a church. Men are assembled for performance of public actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth itself, and is no longer in being; whereas the church which was assembled, doth no less continue afterward, than before. [a] "Where but three are, and they of the laity also (saith Tertullian), yet there is a church;" that is to say, a Christian assembly. But a church, as now we are to understand it, is a society; that is, a number of men belonging unto some Christian fellowship, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have com-

[a] Tertull. Exhort. ad Castit. Ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet laici.

munion, is the public exercise of such duties as those mentioned in the Apostles' Acts, "instruction, breaking of bread, and prayer." As therefore they that are of the mystical body of Christ, have those inward graces and virtues wherein they differ from all others which are not of the same body; again, whosoever appertain to the visible body of the church, they have also the notes of external profession, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the same manner, even the several societies of Christian men, unto every of which the name of a church is given, with addition betokening severally, as the church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest, must be endued with correspondent general properties belonging unto them as they are public Christian societies. And of such properties common unto all societies Christian, it may not be denied that one of the very chiefest is ecclesiastical polity. Which word I therefore the rather use, because the name of government, as commonly men understand it in ordinary speech, doth not comprise the largeness of that whereunto in this question it is applied. For when we speak of government, what doth the greatest part conceive thereby, but only the exercise of superiority peculiar unto rulers and guides of others? To our purpose therefore the name of church polity will better serve, because it containeth both government, and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the church in public. Neither is any thing in this degree more necessary than church polity, which is a form of ordering the public spiritual affairs of the church of God.

Acts ii. 42.

2. But we must note, that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language; even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all, nor is it possible that any form of polity, much less of polity ecclesiastical, should be good, unless God himself be author of it. [a] "Those things that are not of God (saith Tertullian), they can have no other than God's adversary for their author." Be it whatsoever in the church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be; either as those things some-

Whether it be necessary that some particular form of church polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly unto any such form, are not of necessity to salvation.

[a] Tertul. de habitu mul. Æmuli sint necesse est, quæ Dei non sunt. Rom. ii. 15. Lact. lib. vi. c. 8. Ille legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator. Cic. iii. de Repub.

times were, which God supernaturally revealed, and so delivered them unto Moses for government of the commonwealth of Israel; or else as those things which men find out by help of that light which God hath given them unto that end. The very law of nature itself, which no man can deny but God hath instituted, is not of God, unless that be of God whereof God is the author as well this latter way as the former. But forasmuch as no form of church polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unless God be so the author of it that it be also set down in Scripture: they should tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it must be there set down in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them shew what one form of polity ever was so. Their own to be so taken out of Scripture they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part, even this which they so much oppugn is also from thence taken. Again, they should tell us, whether only that be taken out of Scripture which is actually and particularly there set down; or else that also which the general principles and rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot so much as pretend, that all the parts of their own discipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouths are stopped, when they would plead against all other forms besides their own; seeing their general principles are such as do not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally be consonant unto the general axioms of the Scripture. But to give them some larger scope, and not to close them up in these straits: let their allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselves against all which deny it necessary that any one complete form of church polity should be in Scripture. First, therefore, whereas it hath been told them that matters of faith, and, in general, matters necessary unto salvation, are of a different nature from ceremonies, order, and the kind of church government; and that the one is necessary to be expressly contained in the word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessary not to receive the one, unless there be something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alleged: although there do not appear any just or reasonable cause to reject or dislike of this; nevertheless, as it is not easy to speak to the contentation of minds exulcerated in themselves, but that somewhat there

will be always which displeaseth; so herein for two things we are reproved. [a] The first is, misdistinguishing, because matters of discipline and church government are (as they say) matters necessary to salvation and of faith, whereas we put a difference betwixt the one and the other. Our second fault is, injurious dealing with the Scripture of God, as if it contained only the principal points of religion, some rude and unfashioned matter of building the church, but had left out that which belongeth unto the form and fashion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than only to cover the church's nakedness, and not chains, bracelets, rings, jewels, to adorn her; sufficient to quench her thirst, to kill her hunger, but not to minister a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. In which case our apology shall not need to be very long.

That matters of discipline are different from matters of faith and salvation; and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers.

3. The mixture of those things by speech which by nature are divided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error, which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish, is by conceit of mind to sever things different in nature, and to discern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, because we distinguish where we should not, it may not be denied that we misdistinguish. The only trial whether we do so yea or no, dependeth upon comparison between our conceit and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the church of Christ, this we conceive,

[a] Two things misliked; the one, that we distinguish matters of discipline or church government from matters of faith, and necessary unto salvation: the other, that we are injurious to the Scripture of God in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are these: You which distinguish between these, and say, that matters of faith and necessary unto salvation may not be tolerated in the church, unless they be expressly contained in the word of God, or manifestly gathered; but that ceremonies, order, discipline, government in the church, may not be received against the word of God, and consequently may be received if there be no word against them, although there be none for them: you (I say) distinguishing or dividing after this sort, do prove yourself an evil divider. As though matters of discipline and kind of government were not matters necessary to salvation and of faith. It is no small injury which you do unto the word of God, to pin it in so narrow a room as that it should be able to direct us but in the principal points of our religion; or as though the substance of religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building of the church were uttered in them; and those things were left out that should pertain to the form and fashion of it; or, as if there were in the Scriptures only to cover the church's nakedness, and not also chains, and bracelets, and rings, and other jewels, to adorn her and set her out; or that to conclude, there were sufficient to quench her thirst, and kill her hunger, but not to minister unto her a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. These things you seem to say, when you say, that matters necessary to salvation, and of faith, are contained in Scripture, especially when you oppose these things to ceremonies, order, discipline, and government. T. C. lib. i. p. 26.

that they are not of one suit. Some things are merely of faith, which things it doth suffice that we know and believe; some things not only to be known but done, because they concern the actions of men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of mere faith, and must be believed. Precepts concerning the works of charity are matters of action; which to know unless they be practised, is not enough. This being so clear to all men's understandings, I somewhat marvel that they especially should think it absurd to oppose church government, a plain matter of action, unto matters of faith, who knew that themselves divide the gospel into doctrine and discipline.[a] For if matters of discipline be rightly by them distinguished from matters of doctrine, why not matters of government by us as reasonably set against matters of faith? Do not they under doctrine comprehend the same which we intend by matters of faith? Do not they under discipline comprise the regiment of the church? When they blame that in us which themselves follow, they give men great cause to doubt that some other thing than judgment doth guide their speech. What the church of God standeth bound to know or do, the same in part nature teacheth. And because nature can teach them but only in part, neither so fully as is requisite for man's salvation, nor so easily as to make the way plain and expedite enough that many may come to the knowledge of it, and so be saved, therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the most necessary things that the school of nature teacheth unto that end, and revealeth also whatsoever we neither could with safety be ignorant of, nor at all be instructed in but by supernatural revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the church, and the principal of the other sort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an error. We teach, that whatsoever is unto salvation termed necessary by way of excellency; whatsoever it standeth all men upon to know or do that they may be saved; whatsoever there is whereof it may truly be said, "This not to believe, is eternal death and damnation;" or, "This every soul that will live, must duly observe:" of which sort the articles of Christian faith, and the sacraments of the church of Christ,

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 1. We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the gospel. And again, p. 5. I speak of the discipline as of a part of the gospel. If the discipline be one part of the gospel, what other part can they assign but doctrine to answer in *division to the* discipline?

are: all such things, if Scripture did not comprehend, the church of God should not be able to measure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever she is to walk; heretics and schismatics never ceasing, some to abridge, some to enlarge, all to pervert and obscure, the same. But as for those things that are accessory hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation as to alter them is no otherwise to change that way, than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof; which be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stones, remaineth still the same path; in such things, because discretion may teach the church what is convenient, we hold not the church farther tied herein unto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the church, lest that part which ought always to be kept even, do thereby come to be overgrown with brambles and thorns. If this be unsound, wherein doth the point of unsoundness lie? Is it not that we make some things necessary, some things accessory and appendent only? For our Lord and Saviour himself doth make that difference, by terming judgment, and mercy, and fidelity, with other things of like nature, "the greater and weightier matters of the law." Is it then in that we account ceremonies (wherein we do not comprise sacraments, or any other the like substantial duties in the exercise of religion, but only such external rites as are usually annexed unto church actions), is it an oversight that we reckon these things and matters[a] of government in the number of things accessory, not things necessary in such sort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable consider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto garments, which cover the body of the church; the other unto rings, bracelets, and jewels, that only adorn it? The one to that food which the church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her diet liberal, dainty, and more delicious? Is dainty fare a thing necessary to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the necessity of that which themselves resemble by things not necessary? Or by what construction shall any man living be able to make those comparisons true, holding that

Matt. xxiii. 23.

[a] The government of the church of Christ granted by Fenner himself to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of religion, against Doctor Bridges, p. 121. if it be Fenner which was the author of that book.

distinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of external regiment in the church and things necessary unto salvation?

That we do not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto given with soundness of truth. Arist. Pol. lib. i. cap. 8. et Plato in Menex. Arist. lib. iii. de Animal. cap. 45.

4. Now as it can be to nature no injury that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her works have observed; namely, that she provideth for all living creatures nourishment which may suffice; that she bringeth forth no kind of creature whereto she is wanting in that which is needful: although we do not so far magnify her exceeding bounty, as to affirm that she bringeth into the world the sons of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring up out of the earth for them: so I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the church's discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impair the honour which the church of God yieldeth to the sacred Scriptures, perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture must needs teach the church whatsoever is in such sort necessary as hath been set down; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the church, than for nature to have left it to the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of the field have theirs: if neither this can import, nor any other proof sufficient be brought forth, that we either will at any time or ever did affirm the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more than only those bare necessaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to special occasions, as also in other manifold respects, infinite treasures of wisdom are over and besides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that scarcely there is any noble part of knowledge worthy the mind of man but from thence it may have some direction and light; yea, that although there be no necessity it should of purpose prescribe any one particular form of church government, yet touching the manner of governing in general, the precepts that Scriptrue setteth down are not few, and the examples many, which it proposeth for all church governors even in particularities to follow; yea, that those things, finally, which are of principal weight in the very particular form of church polity (although not that form which they imagine, but that which we against them uphold), are in the self-same Scriptures contained; if all this be willingly granted by us, which are accused to pin

the word of God in so narrow a room as that it should be able to direct us but in principal points of our religion; or as though the substance of religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building the church were uttered in them, and those things left out that should pertain to the form and fashion of it; let the cause of the accused be referred to the accuser's own conscience, and let that judge whether this accusation be deserved where it hath been laid.

Their meaning who first did plead against the polity of the church of England, urging that nothing ought to be established in the church, which is not commanded by the word of God, and what Scripture they thought they might ground this assertion upon.

5. But so easy it is for every man living to err, and so hard to wrest from any man's mouth the plain acknowledgment of error, that what hath been once inconsiderably defended, the same is commonly persisted in as long as wit, by whetting itself, is able to find out any shift, be it never so slight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present contradiction. So that it cometh herein to pass with men, unadvisedly fallen into error, as with them whose state hath no ground to uphold it, but only the help which by subtle conveyance they draw out of casual events arising from day to day, till at length they be clean spent. They which first gave out, that nothing ought to be established in the church, which is not commanded by the word of God, thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifest words of the law,[a] "Ye shall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye take aught therefrom, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you." Wherefore having an eye to a number of rites and orders in the church of England, as marrying with a ring, crossing in the one sacrament, kneeling at the other, observing of festival days more than only that which is called the Lord's day, enjoining abstinence at certain times from some kinds of meat, churching of women after childbirth, degrees taken by divines in universities, sundry church offices, dignities, and callings; for which they found no commandment in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one only stroke of that axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an oracle, being sifted, was repealed. True it is concerning the word of God, whether it be by misconstruction of the sense, or by falsification of the words, wittingly to endeavour that any thing may seem Divine which is not, or any thing not seem which is, were plainly to abuse, and even to falsify Divine

[a] Whatsoever I command you, take heed you do it. Thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take aught therefrom. Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32.

evidence; which injury offered but unto men, is most worthily counted heinous. Which point I wish they did well observe, with whom nothing is more familiar than to plead in these causes, the law of God, the word of the Lord; who, notwithstanding, when they come to allege what word and what law they mean, their common ordinary practice is to quote by speeches in some historical narration or other, and to urge them as if they were written in most exact form of law. What is to add to the law of God, if this be not? When that which the word of God doth but deliver historically, we construe, without any warrant, as if it were legally meant, and so urge it farther than we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the laws of God, and make them in number seem more than they are? It standeth us upon to be careful in this case: for the sentence of God is heavy against them that wittingly shall presume thus to use the Scripture.

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6. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once stand as consonant to reason, that because we are forbidden to add to the law of God any thing, or to take aught from it; therefore we may not for matters of the church, make any law more than is already set down in Scripture. Who seeth not what sentence it shall enforce us to give against all churches in the world, inasmuch as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn, were rashness? let the church of God, even in the time of our Saviour Christ, serve for example unto all the rest. [a] In their domestical celebration of the Passover, which supper they divided (as it were) into two courses; what Scripture did give commandment, that between the first and the second, he that was chief should put off the residue of his garments, and keeping on his feast-robe only, wash the feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwashed in prayer unto God? which custom Aristæus (be the credit of the author more or less) sheweth wherefore they did so religiously observe? What Scripture did command the Jews every festival day to fast till the sixth hour? the custom both mentioned by Josephus in the history of his own life, and by the words of Peter signified. Tedious it were to rip up all such things as were in that church established, yea, by Christ himself and

Acts x. 9.

[a] John xiii. Cœnatorium: de quo Matt. xxii. 12. Ibi de Cœnatorio nuptiali.

by his apostles observed, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

7. Well, yet a gloss there is to colour that paradox, and notwithstanding all this, still to make it appear in show not to be altogether unreasonable. And therefore till farther reply come, the cause is held by a feeble distinction; that the commandments of God being either general or special, although there be no express word for every thing in speciality, yet there are general commandments for all things, to the end, that even such cases as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleasure, only with caution, that nothing be done against the word of God; and that for this cause the apostle hath set down in Scripture four general rules, requiring such things alone to be received in the church, as do best and nearest agree with the same rules, that so all things in the church may be appointed, not only not against, but by and according to the word of God. The rules are these, nothing scandalous or offensive unto any, especially unto the church of God; all things in order and with seemliness; all unto edification; finally, all to the glory of God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were necessary to take so much pains? Which rules they that urge, minding thereby to prove that nothing may be done in the church but what Scripture commandeth, must needs hold that they tie the church of Christ no otherwise than only because we find them there set down by the finger of the Holy Ghost. So that unless the apostle by writing had delivered those rules to the church, we should by observing them have sinned, as now by not observing them. In the church of the Jews, is it not granted, that the appointment of the hour for daily sacrifices; the building of synagogues throughout the land to hear the word of God, and to pray in when they came not up to Jerusalem; the erecting of pulpits and chairs to teach in; the order of burial; the rites of marriage, with such-like, being matters appertaining to the church; yet are not any where prescribed in the law, but were by the church's discretion instituted? What then shall we think? Did they hereby add to the law, and so displease God by that which they did? None so hardly persuaded of them. Doth their law deliver unto them the self-same general rules of the apostle, that framing thereby their orders, they might in that respect clear themselves from

A shift to maintain, that nothing ought to be established in the church, which is not commanded in the word of God, namely, that commandments are of two sorts; and that all things lawful in the church are commanded, if not by special precepts, yet by general rules in the word: 1 Cor. x. 32. xiv. 40. xiv. 26. Rom. xiv. 6, 7. T. C. l. i. p. 35.

doing amiss? St. Paul would then of likelihood have cited them out of the law, which we see he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and canons of that law, which is written in all men's hearts; the church had for ever no less than now stood bound to observe them, whether the apostle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore these canons do bind as they are edicts of nature, which the Jews observing as yet unwritten, and thereby framing such church orders as in their law were not prescribed, are notwithstanding in that respect unculpable; it followeth, that sundry things may be lawfully done in the church, so as they be not done against the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them; but the church only following the light of reason, judge them to be in discretion meet. Secondly, unto our purpose and for the question in hand, whether the commandments of God in Scripture be general or special it skilleth not: for if being particularly applied, they have in regard of such particulars a force constraining us to take some one certain thing of many, and to leave the rest; whereby it would come to pass, that any other particular but that one being established, the general rules themselves in that case would be broken; then is it utterly impossible that God should leave any thing great or small free for the church to establish or not. Thirdly, if so be they shall grant, as they cannot otherwise do, that these rules are no such laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but serve rather to direct the church in all things which she doth; so that free and lawful it is to devise any ceremony, to receive any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no special commandment being thereby violated; and the same being thought such by them to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth; as that it is not scandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and setting forth the glory of God; that is to say, agreeable unto the general rules of Holy Scripture; this doth them no good in the world for the furtherance of their purpose. That which should make for them, must prove that men ought not to make laws for church regiment, but only keep those laws which in Scripture they find made. The plain intent of the books of ecclesiastical discipline is to shew that men may not devise laws of church government; but are bound for ever to use and to execute only those which God himself hath already *devised* and delivered in the Scripture. The self-same drift

the admonitioners also had, in urging, that nothing ought to be done in the church, according unto any law of man's devising, but all according unto that which God in his word hath commanded. Which not remembering, they gather out of Scripture general rules to be followed in making laws; and so in effect they plainly grant that we ourselves may lawfully make laws for the church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take laws already made, as they meant who first alleged that principal whereof we speak. One particular platform it is which they respected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all churches; whereas these general rules do not let, but that there may well enough be sundry. It is the particular order established in the church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto those general rules they know, we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obscure it is not, what meaning they had who first gave out that grand axiom; and according unto that meaning it doth prevail far and wide with the favourers of that part. Demand of them, Wherefore they conform not themselves unto the order of our church? And in every particular, their answer for the most part is, We find no such thing commanded in the word. Whereby they plainly require some special commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to have matters of the church examined by general rules and canons. As, therefore, in controversies between us and the church of Rome, that which they practise is many times even according to the very grossness of that which the vulgar sort conceiveth; when that which they teach to maintain it, is so nice and subtile that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon; in which cases we should do the church of God small benefit, by disputing with them according unto the finest points of their dark conveyances, and suffering that sense of their doctrine to go uncontrolled, wherein by the common sort it is ordinarily received and practised; so considering what disturbance hath grown in the church amongst ourselves, and how the authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a sure foundation, "Nothing ought to be established in the church, which in the word of God is not commanded;" were it reason, that we should suffer the same to pass without controlment, in that current, meaning whereby every where it

prevaileth, and stay till some strange construction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a shift?

Another answer in defence of the former assertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this sort. All church-orders must be commanded in the word, that is to say, grounded upon the word, and made according, at the least-wise, unto the general rules of holy Scripture. As for such things as are found out by any star or light of reason, and are in that respect received, so they be not against the word of God, all such things it holdeth unlawfully received. Arist. Polit. 1. 1 Cor. vii.

8. The last refuge in maintaining this position is thus to construe it, "Nothing ought to be established in the church, but that which is commanded in the word of God;" that is to say, all church-orders must "be grounded upon the word of God;" in such sort grounded upon the word, not that being found out by some star, or light of reason, or learning, or other help, they may be received, so they be not against the word of God; but according at leastwise unto the general rules of Scripture they must be made. Which is in effect as much as to say, "We know not what to say well in defence of this position; and therefore, lest we should say it is false, there is no remedy but to say, that in some sense or other it may be true, if we could tell how." First, that *scholy* had need of a very favourable reader and a tractable, that should think it plain construction, when to be *commanded in the word*, and *grounded upon the word*, are made all one. If when a man may live in the state of matrimony, seeking that good thereby which nature principally desireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life, in regard of St. Paul's judgment; that which he doth, is manifestly grounded upon the word of God, yet not commanded in his word, because without breach of any commandment he might do otherwise. Secondly, whereas no man in justice and reason, can be reproved for those actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no sound divine in the world ever denied to be in part made manifest even by the light of nature, and not by Scripture alone: if the church, being directed by the former of these two (which God hath given, who gave the other that man might in different sort be guided by them both), if the church, I say, do approve and establish that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of Holy Scripture; who shall warrant our presumptuous boldness controlling herein the church of Christ? But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hateful with men; the star of reason and learning, and all other such-like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in

things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be esteemed as that star in the Revelation, called wormwood; which being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth so bitter, that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things Divine they should attribute any force to man's reason. For which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason. Their usual and common discourses are unto this effect: first, "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Secondly, it is not for nothing that St. Paul giveth charge to "beware of philosophy," that is to say, such knowledge as men by natural reason attain unto. Thirdly, consider them that have from time to time opposed themselves against the gospel of Christ, and most troubled the church with heresy. Have they not always been great admirers of human reason? Hath their deep and profound skill in secular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? Fourthly, they that fear God will remember how heavy his sentences are in this case: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? Seeing the world by wisdom know not God; in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save believers." Fifthly, the word of God in itself, is absolute, exact, and perfect. The word of God is a two-edged sword; as for the weapons of natural reason, they are as the armour of Saul, rather cumbersome about the soldier of Christ than needful. They are not of force to do that which the apostles of Christ did by the power of the Holy Ghost: "My preaching (therefore saith Paul), hath not been in the enticing speech of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit of power; that your faith might not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." Sixthly, if I believe the gospel, there needeth no reasoning about it to persuade me: if I do not believe, it must be the Spirit of God, and not the reason of man that shall convert my heart unto him. By these and the like disputes, an opinion hath spread itself very far in the world; as if the way

Apoc. viii. 10.

1 Cor. ii. 14.

Col. ii. 8.

1 Cor. i. 19.

1 Cor. ii. 4.

to be ripe in faith were to be raw in wit and judgment; as if reason were an enemy unto religion, childish simplicity the mother of ghostly and Divine wisdom. The cause why such declamations prevail so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselves in two respects to be deluded. One is, that the wisdom of man being debased, either in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some special thing exceeding the reach and compass thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned. Another, that learning, knowledge, or wisdom, falsely so termed, usurping a name whereof they are not worthy; and being under that name controlled, their reproof is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equivocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names do properly and of right belong. This, duly observed, doth to the former allegations itself make sufficient answer. Howbeit, for all men's plainer and fuller satisfaction;

I. First, concerning the inability of reason, to search out and to judge of things Divine, if they be such as those properties of God, and those duties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive consideration of heaven and earth; we know that of mere natural men, the apostle testifieth, how they knew both God, and the law of God. Other things of God there be, which are neither so found, nor, though they be shewed, can never be approved without the special operation of God's good grace and Spirit. Of such things sometime spake the apostle St. Paul, declaring how Christ had called him to be a witness of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the prophets and Moses had foreshewed. Festus, a mere natural man, an infidel, a Roman, one whose ears were unacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach unto that whereof he spake; the suffering, and the rising of Christ from the dead, he rejected as idle superstitious fancies not worth the hearing. The apostle that knew them by the Spirit, and spake of them with power of the Holy Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifest, what elsewhere the same apostle teacheth, namely, that nature hath need of grace, whereunto I hope we are not opposite, by holding that grace hath use of nature.

Rom. i. 21. 32.

Acts xxv. 19.

Acts xxvi. 24.

1 Cor. ii. 14.

II. Secondly, philosophy we are warranted to take heed of; not that philosophy, which is true and sound knowledge at-

tained by natural discourse of reason; but that philosophy, which to bolster heresy or error casteth a fraudulent show of reason upon things which are indeed unreasonable; and by that mean, as by a stratagem, spoileth the simple which are not able to withstand such cunning. "Take heed lest any spoil you through philosophy, and vain deceit." He that exhorteth to beware of an enemy's policy, doth not give council to be impolitic; but rather to use all prudent foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicity be overreached by cunning sleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are so guileful through skill, is thoroughly to be instructed in that which maketh skilful against guile, and to be armed with that true and sincere philosophy, which doth teach against that deceitful and vain, which spoileth. Col. ii. 8.

III. Thirdly, but many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief; and many sound in belief, have been also great philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort unto the love of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith, the other sort out of love with secular knowledge. The harm that heretics did, they did it unto such as were unable to discern between sound and deceitful reasoning; and the remedy against it was ever the skill which the ancient fathers had to descry and discover such deceit. Insomuch, that Cresconius the heretic complained greatly of St. Augustine, as being too full of logical subtilties. Heresy prevaileth only by a counterfeit show of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becometh invincible, unless it be convicted of fraud by manifest remonstrance, clearly true, and unable to be withstood. When therefore the apostle requireth ability to convict heretics, can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful to use the principal instrument of their conviction, the light of reason? It may not be denied, but that in the fathers' writings, there are sundry sharp invectives against heretics, even for their very philosophical reasonings; the cause whereof Tertullian confesseth, not to have been any dislike conceived against the kind of such reasonings, but the end. "We may (saith he), even in matters of God, be made wiser by reasons drawn from the public persuasions, which are grafted in men's minds: so they be used to farther the truth, not to bolster error; so they make with, not against that which God hath determined. For there are some things even known by nature, as the immortality of the Tit. i. 9. 11. Tert. de Resur. Carnis.

soul to many, our God unto all. I will therefore myself also, use the sentence of some such as Plato, pronouncing every soul immortal. I myself too will use the secret acknowledgment of the commonalty, bearing record of the God of gods: but when I hear men allege, that which is dead, is dead; and while thou art alive, be alive; and after death an end of all, even of death itself: then will I call to mind, both that the heart of the people with God is accounted dust, and that the very wisdom of the world is pronounced folly. If then an heretic fly also unto such vicious, popular, and secular conceits, my answer unto him shall be: Thou heretic, avoid the heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God; yet thou that dost this under the name of Christ, differeth from the heathen, in that thou seemest to thyself a Christian. Leave him therefore his conceits, seeing that neither will he learn thine. Why dost thou, having sight, trust to a blind guide? thou which hast put on Christ, take raiment of him that is naked? If the apostle have armed thee, why dost thou borrow a stranger's shield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the resurrection of the flesh." In a word, the catholic fathers did good unto all by that knowledge, whereby heretics hindering the truth in many, might have farthered therewith themselves, but that obstinately following their own ambitious, or otherwise corrupted affections, instead of framing their wills to maintain that, which reason taught, they bent their wits to find how reason might seem to teach that which
Tit. iii. 11. their wills were set to maintain. For which cause the apostle saith of them justly, that they are for the most part *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, men condemned even in, and of themselves. For though they be not all persuaded, that it is truth which they withstand; yet that to be error which they uphold, they might undoubtedly the sooner a great deal attain to know, but that their study is more to defend what once they have stood in, than to find out sincerely and simply what truth they ought to persist in for ever.

IV. Fourthly, there is in the world no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious; yea, that principal truth, in comparison whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it some kind of
Acts vii. 22. light; whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wisdom,
Dan. i. 17. mathematical, wherewith Moses and Daniel were furnished;

or that natural, moral, and civil wisdom wherewith Solomon excelled all men; or that rational and oratorial wisdom of the Grecians, which the apostle St. Paul brought from Tarsus; or that judaical, which he learned in Jerusalem, sitting at the feet of Gamaliel: to detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himself, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath sent out these lights whereof we are capable, even as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountain from which they rise. But there are that bear the title of wise men, and scribes, and great disputers of the world, and are nothing indeed less than what in show they most appear. These being wholly addicted unto their own wills, use their wit, their learning, and all the wisdom they have, to maintain that which their obstinate hearts are delighted with, esteeming, in the frantic error of their minds, the greatest madness in the world to be wisdom, and the highest wisdom, foolishness. Such were both Jews and Grecians which professed, the one sort legal, and the other secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the mystery of Christ: unto the glory of whose most blessed name, whoso study to use both their reason and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath endued them with; let them never doubt, but that the same God who is to destroy and confound utterly that wisdom falsely so named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true scribes; scribes by wisdom instructed to the kingdom of heaven; scribes against that kingdom hardened in a vain opinion of wisdom; which in the end being proved folly, must needs perish; true understanding, knowledge, judgment and reason, continuing for evermore.

1 Kings iv. 29, 30. Acts xxii. 3. Matt. xiii. 52.

V. Fifthly, unto the word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and absolute in itself, we do not add reason as a supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scriptures' perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. The word of God is a two-edged sword, put in the hands of reasonable men; and reason is as the weapon that slew Goliah, if they be as David was that use it. Touching the apostles, he which gave them from above such power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them also with wisdom from above to teach that which they so did confirm. Our Saviour made

Heb. iv. 12.

choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God supernaturally endued them with from heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and silly estate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive unto their teaching. They studied for no tongue they spake withal: of themselves they were rude, and knew not so much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them speech and eloquent utterance. But because with St. Paul it was otherwise than with the rest, inasmuch as he never conversed with Christ upon earth as they did; and his education had been scholastical altogether, which theirs was not; hereby occasion was taken by certain malignants secretly to undermine his great authority in the church of Christ, as though the gospel had been taught him by others than by Christ himself, and as if the cause of the gentiles' conversion and belief, through his means, had been the learning and skill which he had by being conversant in their books; which thing made them so willing to hear him, and him so able to persuade them; whereas the rest of the apostles prevailed, because God was with them, and by a miracle from heaven confirmed his words in their mouths. They were mighty in deeds: as for him, being absent, his writings had some force; in presence, his power not like unto theirs. In sum, concerning his preaching, their very by-word was, λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *addle speech, empty talk;* his writings full of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations, his presence not like the rest of the apostles. Hereupon it ariseth, that St. Paul was so often driven to make his apologies. Hereupon it ariseth, that whatsoever time he had spent in the study of human learning, he maketh earnest protestation to them of Corinth, that the gospel which he had preached amongst them did not by other means prevail with them, than with others the same gospel taught by the rest of the apostles of Christ. "My preaching (saith he), hath not been in the persuasive speeches of human wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." What is it which the apostle doth here deny? Is it denied that his speech amongst them had been persuasive? No: for of him the sacred history plainly testifieth, that for the

2 Cor. x. 10.

1 Cor. ii. 4.

Acts xviii. ℣ 11.

space of a year and a half he spake in their synagogue every sabbath, and persuaded both Jews and Grecians. How then is the speech of men made persuasive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to pass, the one human, the other Divine. Either St. Paul did only by art and natural industry cause his own speech to be credited; or else God by miracle did authorize it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to the speech of the rest of the apostles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? if the preaching of the rest had been effectual by miracle, his only by force of his own learning; so great inequality between him and the other apostles in this thing had been enough to subvert their faith. For might they not with reason have thought, that if he were sent of God as well as they, God would not have furnished them and not him, with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might not a great part of them, being simple, haply have feared lest their assent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakness of their own wits than the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been, that all believers through the preaching of other apostles, should have their faith strongly built upon the evidence of God's own miraculous approbation; and they whom he had converted, should have their persuasion built only upon his skill and wisdom who persuaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other apostles did; so although the wisdom of man had not been sufficient to enable him to be such a teacher as the rest of the apostles were, unless God's miracles had strengthened both the one and the other's doctrine; yet unto our ability, both of teaching and learning the truth of Christ, as we are but mere Christian men, it is not a little which the wisdom of man may add.

Sixthly, yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and to his truth, believe we, or be we as yet faithless, for our conversion or confirmation, the force of natural reason is great. The force whereof unto those effects is nothing without grace. What then? to our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in him, that man would no more do this than innocents and infants do, but for the light of natural reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, VI.

which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade reasonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience, and credit, belong aright unto God. No man cometh unto God to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplication and prayers before him, or to do him any service which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him. Let men be taught this either by revelation from heaven, or by instruction upon earth; by labour, study and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of natural reason, why should none be found capable thereof but only men; nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it, but only to teach theology? Theology, what is it, but the science of things Divine? What science can be attained unto, without the help of natural discourse and reason? "Judge you of that which I speak," saith the apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by reason, that the Scripture is the word of God. In the presence of Festus a Roman, and of King Agrippa a Jew, St. Paul omitting the one, who neither knew the Jew's religion, nor the books whereby they were taught it, speaks unto the other of things foreshewed by Moses and the prophets, and performed in Jesus Christ, intending thereby to prove himself so unjustly accused, that unless his judges did condemn both Moses and the prophets, him they could not choose but acquit, who taught only that fulfilled, which they so long since had foretold. His cause was easy to be discerned; what was done, their eyes were witnesses; what Moses and the prophets did speak, their books could quickly shew: it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know thou dost." The question is, how the books of the prophets came to be credited of King Agrippa. For what with him did authorize the prophets, the like with us doth cause the rest of the Scripture

Heb. xi. 6.

1 Cor. x. 15.

Acts xxvi. 22.

of God to be of credit. Because we maintain, that in Scripture we are taught all things necessary unto salvation; hereupon very childishly it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach us the sacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole faith and salvation dependeth? As though there were any kind of science in the world which leadeth men unto knowledge, without presupposing a number of things already known. No science doth make known the first principles whereon it buildeth; but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth; without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident: for then all men that hear it, would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that every whole is more than any part of that whole, because this in itself is evident. The other we know, that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed, which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. Scripture teaches us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation; and it presumeth us taught otherwise, that itself is Divine and sacred. The question then being, by what means we are taught this: some answer, that to learn it we have no other way than only tradition; as namely, that so we believe, because both we from our predecessors, and they from theirs have so received. But is this enough? That which all men's experience teacheth them, may not in anywise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's church. For when we know the whole church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the church, to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterward the more we bestow our labour in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very

thing hath ministered farther reason. If infidels or atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion, which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavoured still to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments, such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible, or greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs, so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I believe the gospel, yet is reason of singular use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: if I do not as yet believe, nevertheless to bring me into the number of believers, except reason did somewhat help, and were an instrument which God doth use unto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with infidels or godless persons for their conversion and persuasion in that point? Neither can I think that when grave and learned men do sometime hold that of this principle there is no proof but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kind of reason may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more expressly set down, that other motives and inducements, be they never so strong and consonant unto reason, are notwithstanding ineffectual of themselves to work faith concerning this principle, if the special grace of the Holy Ghost concur not to the enlightening of our minds. For otherwise, I doubt not but men of wisdom and judgment will grant that the church, in this point especially, is furnished with reason to stop the mouths of her impious adversaries; and that as it were altogether bootless to allege against them what the Spirit hath taught us, so likewise, that even to our ownselves it needeth caution and explication, how the testimony of the Spirit may be discerned, by what means it may be known, lest men think that the Spirit of God doth testify those things which the spirit of error suggesteth.

The operations of the Spirit, especially these ordinary

which be common unto all true Christian men, are, as we know, things secret and undiscernible even to the very soul where they are, because their nature is of another and a higher kind than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth, and direct us in all goodness; yet because these workings of the Spirit in us are so privy and secret, we therefore stand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reason from the quality of things believed or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both, than if we settle ourselves to believe or to do any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit. But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture, to the sense and meaning thereof, because the sentences which are by the apostles recited out of the Psalms, to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ, did not prove it, if so be the prophet David meant them of himself. This exposition therefore they plainly disprove, and shew by manifest reason that of David the words of David could not possibly be meant. Exclude the use of natural reasoning about the sense of Holy Scripture concerning the articles of our faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the articles of our faith who can assure us? That which by right exposition buildeth up Christian faith, being misconstrued, breedeth error; between true and false construction, the difference reason must shew. Can Christian men perform that which Peter requireth at their hands? Is it possible they should both believe, and be able without the use of reason, to render a reason of their belief; a reason sound and sufficient to answer them that demand it, be they of the same faith with us, or enemies thereunto? May we cause our faith without reason to appear reasonable in the eyes of men? This being required even of learners in the school of Christ, the duty of their teachers in bringing them unto such ripeness must needs be somewhat more than only to read the sentences of Scripture, and then paraphrastically to scholy them, to vary them with sundry forms of speech, without arguing or disputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend itself unto the world by that easiness and facility which is in it; but a law or a pattern it is not, as some do imagine, for all men to follow that will do good in the church of Christ. Our Lord and Saviour himself did hope by disputation to do some good, yea, by disputation not only of, but against the truth, albeit

Acts xiii. 36. ii. 34.

1 Pet. iii. 15.

with purpose for the truth. That Christ should be the son of David, was truth; yet against this truth, our Lord in the gospel objecteth, "If Christ be the son of David, how doth David call him Lord?" There is as yet no way known how to dispute, or to determine of things disputed, without the use of natural reason. If we please to add unto Christ their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could, the sermon of Paul and Barnabas, set down in the Acts, where the people would have offered unto them sacrifice; in that sermon, what is there but only natural reason to disprove their act? "O men, why do ye these things? we are men even subject to the self-same passions with you: we preach unto you to leave these vanities, and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himself without witness, in that he hath done good to the world, giving rain and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with joy and gladness." Neither did they only use reason in winning such unto a Christian belief, as were yet thereto unconverted, but with believers themselves they followed the self-same course. In that great and solemn assembly of believing Jews, how doth Peter prove that the gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reason drawn from those effects which were apparently known amongst them: "God which knoweth the hearts, hath borne them witness in giving unto them the Holy Ghost as unto you." The light therefore, which the star of natural reason and wisdom casteth, is too bright to be obscured by the mist of a word or two, uttered to diminish that opinion which justly hath been received concerning the force and virtue thereof, even in matters that touch most nearly the principal duties of men, and the glory of the eternal God. In all which hitherto hath been spoken, touching the force and use of man's reason in things Divine, I must crave that I be not so understood or construed, as if any such thing, by virtue thereof, could be done without the aid and assistance of God's most blessed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the question moved about it; which question is, Whether the light of reason be so pernicious, that in devising laws for the church, men ought not by it to search what may be fit and convenient? For this cause, therefore, we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the nature of reason itself there is no impediment, but that the self-same Spirit which revealeth the things that God hath set down in his

Matt. xxii. 43.

Acts xiv. 15.

Acts xv. 8.

law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason, what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his church, over and besides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with those men, by whom human laws are defined to be ordinances, which such as have lawful authority given them for that purpose, do probably draw from the laws of nature and God, by discourse of reason aided with the influence of Divine grace: and for that cause, it is not said amiss touching ecclesiastical canons, "That by instinct of the Holy Ghost they have been made, and consecrated by the reverend acceptation of the world." Violatores, cap. xxv. q. 1.

9. Laws for the church are not made as they should be, unless the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by, wherein that Scripture standeth not the church of God in any stead, or serveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let pass as needless to be consulted with, we judge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make laws which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet, because both in that which we are commanded it concerneth the duty of the church by law to provide, that the looseness and slackness of men may not cause the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are, for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them unto the careful discretion of the church; we are to search how the church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by laws, which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture, and partly reason must teach to discern. Scripture comprehending examples and laws; laws, some natural, and some positive; examples neither are there for all cases which require laws to be made; and when they are, they can but direct as precedents only. Natural laws direct in such sort, that in all things we must for ever do according unto them; positive so, that against them, in no case, we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is, that they should remain in force. Howbeit, when Scripture doth yield us precedents how far forth they are to be followed: when it giveth natural laws, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable; when positive, which way to make laws unrepugnant unto them; yea, though all these should want, yet what kind of

How laws for the regiment of the church may be made by the advice of men following therein the light of reason; and how those laws being not repugnant to the word of God are approved in his sight.

ordinances would be most for that good of the church which is aimed at, all this must be by reason found out. And therefore, "To refuse the conduct of the light of nature (saith St. Augustine), is not folly alone, but accompanied with impiety."[a] The greatest amongst the school divines, studying how to set down by exact definition, the nature of a human law (of which nature all the church's constitutions are), found not which way better to do it, than in these words: "Out of the precepts of the law of nature, as out of certain common and undemonstrable principles, man's reason doth necessarily proceed unto certain and more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according unto the reason of man, they have the names of human laws, so that such other conditions be therein kept as the making of laws doth require,"[b] that is, if they whose authority is thereunto required, do establish and publish them as laws. And the truth is, that all our controversy in this cause concerning the orders of the church, is, what particulars the church may appoint. That which doth find them out, is the force of man's reason. That which doth guide and direct his reason, is first, the general law of nature; which law of nature and the moral law of Scripture, are in the substance of law all one. But because there are also in Scripture a number of laws particular and positive, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated, we are in making laws to have thereunto an especial eye. As for example, it might perhaps seem reasonable unto the church of God, following the general laws concerning the nature of marriage, to ordain in particular that cousin-germans should not marry. Which law notwithstanding ought not to be received in the church, if there should be in the Scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of marriage to be so far forth abridged. The same Thomas therefore, whose definition of human laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this caution concerning
121. Quæst. 95. Art. 3. the rule and canon whereby to make them: human laws are measures in respect of men, whose actions they must direct;

[a] Luminis naturalis dictatum repellere, non modo stultum est, sed et impium. August. lib. iv. de Trin. cap. 6.

[b] Ex præceptis legis naturalis, quasi ex quibusdam principiis communibus et indemonstrabilibus, necesse est quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter disponenda. Et istæ particulares dispositiones adinventæ secundum rationem humanam dicuntur 'leges humanæ,' observatis aliis conditionibus, quæ pertinent ad rationem legis. Tho. Aqui. 12. q. 91. art. 3.

howbeit such measures they are, as have also their higher rules to be measured by, which rules are two, the law of God, and the law of nature. So that laws human must be made according to the general laws of nature, and without contradiction unto any positive law in Scripture; otherwise they are ill made. Unto laws thus made and received by a whole church, they which live within the bosom of that church, must not think it a matter indifferent either to yield or not to yield obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the church of God? "My son, keep thy father's commandment (saith Solomon), and forget not thy mother's instruction: bind them both always about thine heart." It doth not stand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to the ordinances of our mother the church, we should shew ourselves disobedient. Let us not say, we keep the commandments of the one, when we break the law of the other: for unless we observe both, we obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may observe both, when they are not the one to the other in any sort repugnant? For of such laws only we speak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the laws of Almighty God. Yea, that which is more, the laws thus made, God himself doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them, is to despise in them him. It is a loose and licentious opinion which the anabaptists have embraced, holding that a Christian man's liberty is lost, and the soul which Christ hath redeemed unto himself injuriously drawn into servitude under the yoke of human power, if any law be now imposed besides the gospel of Jesus Christ: in obedience whereunto, the Spirit of God, and not the constraint of man, is to lead us, according to that of the blessed apostle, "Such as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God," and not such as live in thraldom unto men. Their judgment is therefore, that the church of Christ should admit no lawmakers but the evangelists. The author of that which causeth another thing to be, is author of that thing also which thereby is caused. The light of natural understanding, wit and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world. If there proceed from us any thing afterward corrupt and nought, the mother thereof is our own darkness, neither doth it proceed from any such cause whereof God is the author. He is the author

1 Cor. xi. 22. Prov. vi. 20.

Rom. viii. 14.

John i. 9.

of all that we think or do, by virtue of that light which himself hath given. And therefore the laws which the very heathens did gather to direct their actions by, so far forth as they proceed from the light of nature, God himself doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from himself, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the author of those laws which have been made by his saints, endued farther with the heavenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with such instructions as his sacred word doth yield? Surely, if we have unto those laws that dutiful regard which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need that we should be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himself for their author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot choose but redound unto him. The safest, and unto God the most acceptable, way of framing our lives therefore, is with all humility, lowliness and singleness of heart, to study which way our willing obedience, both unto God and man, may be yielded, even to the utmost of that which is due.

Rom. i. 19. ii. 15.

That neither God's being the author of laws, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

10. Touching the mutability of laws that concern the regiment and polity of the church, changed they are when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of laws concerneth only such laws as are positive, and do make that now good or evil, by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of itself were not simply the one or the other. Unto such laws it is expressly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expressed, then have we no light to direct our judgments concerning the changeableness or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and quality of such laws. The nature of every law must be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptness of things therein prescribed unto the same end. It may so fall out, that the reasons why some laws of God were given, is neither opened, nor possible to be gathered, by the wit of man. As why God should forbid Adam that one tree, there was no way for Adam ever to have certainly understood. And at Adam's ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more securely a false cause, because the tree was unto Adam unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to plough their ground with an ox and an ass; why to clothe

Deut. xxii. 10, 11.

themselves with mingled attire of wool and linen, it was both unto them, and to us it remaineth, obscure. Such laws perhaps cannot be abrogated saving only by whom they were made; because the intent being known unto none but the Author, he alone can judge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known, and being known do appear manifestly to be of perpetual necessity; then are those things also perpetual, unless they cease to be effectual unto that purpose for which they were at the first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterward, when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a law provideth be perpetually necessary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that every such law ought for ever to remain unchangeable. Whether God be the author of laws, by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himself by word only, or in writing also, or howsoever; notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them also changeable. The law of ceremonies came from God. Moses had commandment to commit it unto the sacred records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour, in force still as the Jew surmiseth, because God himself was author of it; and for us to abolish what he hath established, were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? "That which necessity of some special time doth cause to be enjoined, bindeth no longer, than during that time, but doth afterward become free."[a] Which thing is also plain, even by that law which the apostles, assembled at the council of Jerusalem, did from thence

[a] Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate, debet cessare pariter quod urgebat, i. q. 1.

deliver unto the church of Christ; the preface whereof to authorize it was, "To the Holy Ghost, and to us, it hath seemed good:" which style they did not use as matching themselves in power with the Holy Ghost, but as testifying the Holy Ghost to be the author, and themselves but only utterers, of that decree. This law therefore to have proceeded from God as the author thereof, no faithful man will deny. It was of God, not only because God gave them the power whereby they might make laws, but for that it proceeded even from the holy motion and suggestion of that secret Divine Spirit whose sentence they did but only pronounce. Notwithstanding, as the law of ceremonies delivered unto Jews, so this very law which the gentiles received from the mouth of the Holy Ghost, is in like respect abrogated by decease of the end for which it was given. But such as do not stick at this point, such as grant that what hath been instituted upon any special cause needeth not to be observed, that cause ceasing, do notwithstanding herein fail: they judge the laws of God only by the author and main end for which they were made, so that for us to change that which he hath tablished, they hold it execrable pride and presumption, if so be the end and purpose for which God by that mean provideth be permanent. And upon this they ground those ample disputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the government of his church, if it be necessary always that the church of Christ be governed, then doth the end for which God provided remain still; and therefore in those means which he by law did establish as being fittest unto that end, for us to alter any thing is to lift up ourselves against God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not that laws are instruments to rule by, and that instruments are not only to be framed according unto that general end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular which riseth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore laws were made may be permanent, and those laws nevertheless require some alteration, if there be any unfitness in the means which they prescribe as tending unto that end and purpose. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth punish thieves with a quadruple restitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the world itself continueth. Theft will be always and will *always* need to be bridled. But that the mean which this

Acts xv. 28.

Counterp. p. 8.

law provideth for that end, namely, the punishment of quadruple restitution, that this will be alway sufficient to bridle and restrain that kind of enormity, no man can warrant. Insufficiency of laws doth sometimes come by want of judgment in the makers; which cause cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately Divine, as it may and doth into human laws often: but that which hath been once made sufficient, may wax otherwise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which hath been sometime forcible to bridle sin, may grow afterward too weak and feeble.

In a word, we plainly perceive, by the difference of those three laws which the Jews received at the hands of God, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto, God maketh his laws, continue always one and the same, his laws also do the like, for which cause the moral law cannot be altered. Secondly, that whether the matter whereon laws are made continue or continue not, if their end have once ceased, they cease also to be of force; as in the law ceremonial it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified, and in a great part of those ancient judicials it doth; yet forasmuch as there is not in all respects the same subject or matter remaining for which they were first instituted, even this is sufficient cause of change: and therefore laws (though both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were ordained continuing) may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times they be found insufficient to attain unto that end. In which respect why may we not presume that God doth even call for such change or alteration as the very condition of things themselves doth make necessary? They which do therefore plead the authority of the law-maker as an argument wherefore it should not be lawful to change that which he hath instituted, and will have this the cause why all the ordinances of our Saviour are immutable: they which urge the wisdom of God as a proof, that whatsoever laws he hath made, they ought to stand, unless himself from heaven proclaim them disannulled, because it it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that we are far from presuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thinking that men should presume to undo some things of men which God doth know

they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath, that have been changed, and that for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when change is requisite, had been worst when that which now is changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this to choose that, neither would now reject that to choose this, were it not for some new-grown occasion, making that which hath been better worse. In this case therefore men do not presume to change God's ordinance, but they yield thereunto, requiring itself to be changed. Against this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the gospel of Christ, if men or angels should attempt, it were most heinous and cursed sacrilege. And the gospel (as they say) containeth not only doctrine instructing men how they should believe, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the church. Discipline therefore is a part of the gospel,[a] and God being the author of the whole gospel, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them have a common cause. So that as we are to believe for ever the articles of evangelical doctrine, so the precepts of discipline we are in like sort bound for ever to observe. Touching points of doctrine; as for example, the unity of God, the trinity of persons, salvation by Christ, the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, the judgment to come, and such-like, they have been since the first hour that there was a church in the world, and till the last they must be believed: but as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine, no man thinketh it lawful; new laws of government, what commonwealth or church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? "The rule of faith (saith Tertullian) is but one, and that alone immoveable, and impossible to be framed or cast anew. The law of outward order and polity not so. There is no reason in the world wherefore we should esteem it as necessary always to do, as always to believe the same things; seeing every man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of action daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging unto church-polity.

[a] We offer to shew the discipline to be a part of the gospel, and therefore to have a common cause; so that in the repulse of the discipline, the gospel receives a check. And again, I speak of the discipline as of a part of the gospel; and therefore neither under nor above the gospel, but the gospel. T. C. l. ii. p. 14. Tert. de *Veland. Virg.* Mart. in 1 Sam. xiv.

Neither can I find that men of soundest judgment have any otherwise taught, than that articles of belief, and things which all men must of necessity do to the end they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward polity, the church hath authority to make canons, laws, and decrees, even as we read that in the apostles' times it did. Which kind of laws (forasmuch as they are not in themselves necessary to salvation) may, after they are made, be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea, it is not denied, I am sure, by themselves, that certain things in discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God, or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the church, how can their former position stand, condemning all things in the church which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may suffer change; how can this latter stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though true, will not serve. For be they great things, or be they small, if God have commanded them in the gospel, and his commanding them in the gospel do make them unchangeable, there is no reason we should more change the one, than we may the other. If the authority of the maker do prove unchangeableness in the laws which God hath made, then must all laws which he hath made be necessarily for ever permanent, though they be but of circumstance only, and not of substance. I therefore conclude, that neither God's being author of laws for government of his church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient, wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change. But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way: for whereas in this discourse we have oftentimes professed, that many parts of discipline or church-polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confess their discipline to be delivered in Scripture; and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableness of laws ordained even by God himself, as if otherwise theirs of ne-

Acts xv

cessity should take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy therefore, but to abate this error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such a conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cause. As for us, we think in no respect so highly of it. Our persuasion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that they which defend it, devised it; that neither Christ, nor his apostles, at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did seek to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us, and the strongest against them, were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of church-polity which God hath instituted, and which[a] for that very cause belongeth to all churches, to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore, that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of laws, the same we have plainly delivered, as being persuaded of nothing more than we are of this; That whether it be in matter of speculation or of practice, no untruth[b] can possibly avail the patron and defender long, and that things most truly, are likewise most behovefully spoken.

Whether Christ hath forbidden all change of those laws which are set down in Scripture.

11. This we hold and grant for truth, that those very laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithstanding incapable of change, if he which gave them, being of authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the will of such a law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not find any cause, why of right there should be necessarily an immutable form set down in Holy Scripture; nevertheless, if indeed there have been at any time a church-polity so set down, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those laws which God for perpetuity hath established, were presumption most intolerable. To prove therefore, that the will of Christ was to establish laws so permanent and immutable, that in any sort to alter them cannot but highly offend God; thus

[a] Disciplina est Christianæ ecclesiæ politia, a Deo ejus recte administrandæ causa constituta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, et ob eandem causam omnium ecclesiarum communis et omnium temporum. Lib. iii. de Eccles. Discip. in Anal.

[b] Ἐοίκασιν οὐχ οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συνῳδοὶ γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. Arist. Ethic. lib. x. cap. 1.

they reason, first,[a] if Moses, being but a servant in the house of God, did therein establish laws of government for a perpetuity; laws, which they that were of the household might not alter; shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath, in providing fort his his household, declared himself less faithful than Moses? Moses delivering unto the Jews such laws as were durable, if those be changeable which Christ hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of necessity must confess, even the Son of God himself to have been less faithful than Moses: which argument shall need no touchstone to try it by, but some other of the like making. Moses erected in the wilderness a tabernacle, which was moveable from place to place; Solomon a sumptuous and stately temple, which was not moveable: therefore Solomon was faithfuller than Moses, which no man endued with reason will think. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow: he that will see how faithful the one or other was, must compare the things which they both did, unto the charge which God gave each of them. The apostle, in making comparison between our Saviour and Moses, attributeth faithfulness unto both, and maketh this difference between them; Moses *in* but Christ *over* the house of God; Moses in that house which was *his by charge and commission,* though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a servant;* but Christ over this house as being *his own entire possession.* Our Lord and Saviour doth make protestation, "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me;"[b] faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Father's will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of laws concerning church-polity? They answer, Yea; for else God should less favour us than the Jews. God would not have their churches guided by any laws but his own; and seeing this did so continue even till Christ; now to ease God of that care, or rather to deprive the church of his patronage, what reason have we? Surely

Heb. iii. 6.

John xvii. 8

[a] Either that commendation of the Son before the servant is a false testimony, or the Son ordained a permanent government in the church. If permanent, then not to be changed. What then do they, that hold it may be changed at the magistrate's pleasure, but advise the magistrate by his positive laws to proclaim, that it is his will, that if there shall be a church within his dominions, he will maim and deform the same? M. M. p. 16. He that was as faithful as Moses, left as clear instruction for the government of the church: but Christ was as faithful as Moses: Ergo. Demonst. of Discip. cap. i.

[b] Either God hath left a prescript form of government now, or else he is less careful under the New Testament than under the Old. Demonst. of Dis. cap. i.

[illegible] to [illegible] any thing from the ancient love which God [illegible] in his church. A heathen philosopher there is, [illegible] considering how many things beasts have which men have not, how [illegible] in comparison of them, how impotent, [illegible] we are to shift for ourselves a long [illegible] after we enter into this world, repiningly concluded [illegible], that nature being a careful mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted step-dame. No, we may not measure the affection of our gracious God towards his by such differences. For even herein shineth his wisdom, that though the ways of his Providence be many, yet the end, which he bringeth all at the length unto, is one and the self-same. But if such kind of reasoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very same concerning laws of secular regiment? Their own words are these; "In the ancient church of the Jews, God did command, and Moses commit unto writing, all things pertinent as well to the civil as to the ecclesiastical state. God gave them law of civil regiment, and would not permit their commonweal to be governed by any other laws than his own. Doth God less regard our temporal estate in this world, or provide for it worse than theirs? To us notwithstanding he hath not, as to them, delivered any particular form of temporal regiment, unless perhaps we think as some do, that the grafting of the gentiles, and their incorporating into Israel, doth import that we ought to be subject unto the rites and laws of their whole polity.

[illegible] Eccl. Pol. i.

Rom. xi. 17. Ephes. ii. 12.

We see then how weak such disputes are, and how smally they make to this purpose. That Christ did not mean to set down particular positive laws for all things in such sort as Moses did, the very different manner of delivering the laws of Moses and the laws of Christ doth plainly shew. Moses had commandment to gather the ordinances of God together distinctly, and orderly to set them down according unto their several kinds, for each public duty and office the laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themselves written of purpose for that end. Contrariwise the laws of Christ, we find rather mentioned by occasion in the writings of the apostles, than any solemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legal sort. Again, the positive laws which Moses gave, they were given for the greatest part, with restraint to the land of Jewry: "Behold," saith Moses, "I have taught you ordinances and laws, as the Lord my God commanded

Deut. iv. 5.

me that ye should do so even within the land whither ye go to possess it. Which laws and ordinances positive he plainly distinguished afterward from the laws of the two tables which were moral. "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire; ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, only a voice. Then he declared unto you his covenant which he commanded you to do, the ten commandments, and wrote them upon two tables of stone. And the Lord commanded me that same time, that I should teach you ordinances and laws which ye should observe in the land, whither ye go to possess it." The same difference is again set down in the next chapter following. For rehearsal being made of the ten commandments, it followeth immediately: "These words the Lord spake unto all your multitude in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, the cloud and the darkness, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them upon two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me." But concerning other laws, the people give their consent to receive them at the hands of Moses. "Go thou nearer, and hear all that the Lord our God saith, and declare thou unto us all that the Lord our God saith unto thee, and we will hear it, and do it. The people's alacrity herein God highly commendeth with most effectual and hearty speech: I have heard the voice of the words of this people; they have spoken well. O that there were such a heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my commandments always, that it might go well with them, and with their children for ever! Go, say unto them, Return you to your tents; but stand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the commandments, and the ordinances, and the laws, which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I have given them to possess. From this latter kind the former are plainly distinguished in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one sort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himself in the hearing of six hundred thousand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other side, the latter given after, and neither written by God himself, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto Moses, and from him to them both by word and writing:

Deut. iv. 12—14.

Deut. v. 22.

Ver. 27.

Ver. 28—31.

finally, the latter termed ceremonies, judgments, ordinances, but no where covenants. The observation of the latter restrained unto the land where God would establish them to inhabit. The laws positive are not framed without regard had to the place and persons for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God, in framing their laws, had an eye unto the nature of that people and to the country where they were to dwell; if these peculiar and proper considerations were respected in the making of their laws, and must be also regarded in the positive laws of all other nations besides; then seeing that nations are not all alike, surely the giving of one kind of positive laws unto one only people without any liberty to alter them, is but a slender proof that therefore one kind should in like sort be given to serve everlastingly for all. But that which most of all maketh for the clearing of this point is, that the Jews,[a] who had laws so particularly determining and so fully instructing them in all affairs what to do, were notwithstanding continually inured with causes exorbitant, and such as their laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the order of the church, they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God; and that as their ceremonies and sacraments were multiplied above ours, even so grew the number of those cases which were not determined by any express word. So that if we may devise one law, they by this reason might devise twenty; and if their devising so many were not forbidden, shall their example prove us forbidden to devise as much as one law for the ordering of the church? We might not devise, no not one, if their example did prove that our Saviour had utterly forbidden all alteration of his laws, inasmuch as there can be no law devised, but needs it must either take away from his, or add thereunto more or less, and so make some kind of alteration. But of this so large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a sudden passion more liberal than they would be, if they had leisure to take advice; and therefore so bountiful words of course and frank speeches we are contented to let

T. C. in the table to his second book.

[a] Whereas you say, that they (the Jews) had nothing but was determined by the law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the order of the church, I will offer, for one that you shall bring that we have left to the order of the church, to shew you that they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God. T. C. lib. i. p. 35.

pass, without turning them to advantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be listened unto, when they commend the kings of Israel, which attempted nothing in the government of the church without the express word of God; and when they urge,[a] that God left nothing in his word undescribed, whether it concerned the worship of God, or outward polity, nothing unset down; and therefore charged them strictly to keep themselves unto that without any alteration. Howbeit, seeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the course of their public affairs wherein they had no express word at all to shew precisely what they should do; the difference between their condition and ours in these cases will bring some light unto the truth of this present controversy.

Before the fact of the son of Shelomith there was no law which did appoint any certain punishment for blasphemers: that wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety was held inward, till the mind of the Lord was known concerning his case. The like practice is also mentioned upon occasion of a breach of the sabbath-day. They find a poor silly creature gathering sticks in the wilderness; they bring him unto Moses and Aaron and all the congregation; they lay him in hold, because it was not declared what should be done with him, till God had said unto Moses, "This man shall die the death." The law requireth to keep the sabbath day; but for the breach of the sabbath what punishment should be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occasions as these are rare: and for such things as do fall scarce once in many ages of men, it did suffice to take such order as was requisite when they fell. But if the case were such, as being not already determined by law, were notwithstanding likely oftentimes to come into question, it gave occasion of adding laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the case of those men polluted, and of the daughters of Zelophehad, whose causes Moses having brought before the Lord, received laws to serve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this end had the oracle of God, they had the prophets. And by such means, God himself instructed them from heaven what to do in all things, that did greatly con-

Levit. xxiv. 12.

Numb. xv. 33—35.

Numb. ix. Numb. xxvii.

[a] If he will needs separate the worship of God from the external polity, yet as the Lord set forth the one, so he left nothing undescribed in the other. T. C. lib. i. p. 446.

cern their state, and were not already set down in law. Shall we then hereupon argue even against our own experience and knowledge? Shall we seek to persuade men, that of necessity it is with us, as it was with them, that because God is ours in all respects as much as theirs, therefore either no such way of direction hath been at any time: or if it hath been, it doth still continue in the church; or if the same do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us were to admire the wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all things; but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his church upon earth is guided from age to age throughout all generations of men. The Jews were necessarily to continue till the coming of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of nations unto him. So much the promise made unto Abraham did import. So much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did foreshew. Upon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole world and the salvation of all did depend. Unto their so-long safety, for two things it was necessarily to provide; namely, the preservation of their state against foreign resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselves. Touching the one, as they received the promise of God to be the rock of their defence, against which whoso did violently rush should but bruise and batter themselves; so likewise they had his commandment in all their affairs that way to seek direction and counsel from him. Men's consultations are always perilous. And it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation those things are by their wit even resolved on, which by trial are found most opposite to public safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they never so well established, yet by over-sight in some one act or treaty between them and their potent opposites, utterly to cast away themselves for ever. Wherefore, lest it should so fall out to them upon whom so much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into war, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign states, unless the oracle of God or his prophets were first consulted with. And lest domestical disturbance would waste them within themselves, because there was nothing unto this pur-

Gen. xviii. 18. xlix. 10.

pose more effectual than if the authority of their laws and governors were such as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive laws from heaven, and as oft as occasion required, chose in like sort rulers also to lead and govern them. Notwithstanding, some desperately impious there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them if they did attempt to be authors of confusion, and to resist both governors and laws. Against such monsters God maintained his own by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them. By which means it came to pass, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of rest and quietness; yet there was nothing of force, either one way or other, to work the ruin and subversion of their state till the time beforementioned was expired.

Thus we see that there was no cause of dissimilitude in these things between that one only people before Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since. And whereas it is farther alleged, "That albeit in civil matters and things pertaining to this present life, God hath used a greater particularity with them than amongst us, framing laws according to the quality of that people and country; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civil, is so far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven, that it rather proves a straiter bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favour more appear by temporal blessings of this life towards the people under the law than towards us, he gave also politic laws most exactly, whereby they might both most easily come into, and most steadfastly remain in possession of, those earthly benefits: even so at this time, wherein he would not have his favour so much esteemed by those outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in prescribing laws for that purpose hath somewhat fallen, in leaving them to men's consultations, which may be deceived; so his care for conduct and government of the life to come, should (if it were possible) rise, in leaving less to the order of men than in times past." These are but weak and feeble disputes for the inference of that conclusion which is intend-

T. C. lib. ii. p. 440

ed. For, saving only in such consideration as hath been shewed, there is no cause wherefore we should think God more desirous to manifest his favour by temporal blessings towards them than towards us. Godliness had unto them, and it hath also unto us, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore should rise as much in heavenly; that more is left unto men's consultations in the one, and therefore less must be granted in the other; that God, having used a greater particularity with them than with us for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of laws for government of the life to come. These are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we must plainly confess that, which truth is, we know it not. God which spake unto them by his prophets, hath unto us by his only-begotten Son; those mysteries of grace and salvation which were but darkly disclosed unto them, have unto us more clearly shined. Such differences between them and us, the apostles of Christ have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging unto the outward conduct or government of the church; seeing that even in sense it is manifest, that our Lord and Saviour hath not by positive laws descended so far into particularities with us, as Moses with them; neither doth by extraordinary means, oracles, and prophets, direct us, as them he did, in those things which rising daily by new occasions, are of necessity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make laws? Yea, but the apostle St. Paul doth fearfully charge Timothy, "even in the sight of God who quickeneth all, and of Jesus Christ who witnessed that famous confession before Pontius Pilate, to keep what was commanded him safe and sound, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." This doth exclude all liberty of changing the laws of Christ, whether by abrogation, or addition, or howsoever. For in Timothy the whole church of Christ receiveth charge concerning her duty. And that charge is to keep the apostle's commandment; and his commandment did contain the law that concerned church-government, and those laws he straightly requireth to be observed without breach or blame till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. In Scripture we grant every one man's lesson to be the common instruction of all

1 Tim. vi. 14. John xviii. 37.

men, so far forth as their cases are like; and that religiously to keep the apostles' commandments in whatsoever they may concern us, we all stand bound. But touching that commandment which Timothy was charged with, we swerve undoubtedly from the apostle's precise meaning, if we extend it so largely that the arms thereof shall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the apostle. The very words themselves do restrain themselves unto some special commandment among many. And therefore it is not said, "Keep the ordinances, laws, and constitutions, which thou hast received; but τὴν ἐντολὴν, that great commandment which doth principally concern thee and thy calling:" that commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto Peter; that commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, "Attend to yourselves, and to all the flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased by his own blood:" finally, that commandment which unto the same Timothy is by the same apostle, even in the same form and manner afterward again urged, "I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord Jesus Christ, which will judge the quick and dead at his appearance, and in his kingdom, preach the word of God." When Timothy was instituted in that office, then was the credit and trust of this duty committed unto his faithful care. The doctrine of the gospel was then given him, as the precious talent or treasure of Jesus Christ; then received he for performance of this duty, the special gift of the Holy Ghost. To keep this commandment immaculate and blameless, was to teach the gospel of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound doctrine; such as a number even in those times intermingled with the mysteries of Christian belief. Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so, doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reserved; according to that of St. Paul concerning himself, "I have kept the faith; for the residue there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall in that day render unto me." If they that labour in this harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painful travail, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in heaven; the crown of righteousness which shall be given

John xxi. 15.
Acts xx. 28.
2 Tim. iv. 1.
1 Tim. vi. 20. τὴν παραθήκην.
1 Tim. iv. 14.
2 Tim. iv. 7.

them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatness of their reward is abundantly sufficient to countervail the tediousness of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour must rest in hope. O Timothy, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great commandment which thou hast received, keep till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. In which sense, although we judge the apostle's words to have been uttered; yet hereunto do we not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold, that the last words do import perpetual observation of the apostle's commandment imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant church of Christ; let them withal consider, that then his commandment cannot so largely be taken to comprehend whatsoever the apostle did command Timothy. For themselves do not all bind the church unto some things, whereof Timothy received charge, as namely, unto that precept concerning the choice of widows: so as they cannot hereby maintain, that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the church, were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be, though positive, yet perpetual in the church. They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure, if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly; whereas now they themselves, both granting and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconvenient or unmeet laws. Sundry of ours they hold inconvenient; therefore such laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christ's; being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very laws so added, they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess, both in matter of prescript attire, and of rites appertaining to burial. Their own protestations are, that they plead against the inconvenience not the unlawfulness of popish apparel;[a] and against the incon-

[a] My reasons do never conclude the unlawfulness of these ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them. And in the table. Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulness of Popish apparel and ceremonies in burial. T. C. *lib. iii. p. 241.*

venience not the unlawfulness of ceremonies in burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the laws of Jesus Christ; and so consequently they yield that no law of Christ forbiddeth addition unto church-laws.

The judgment of Calvin being alleged against them, to whom of all men they attribute most;[a] whereas his words be plain, that for ceremonies and external discipline the church hath power to make laws: the answer which hereunto they make is, That indefinitely the speech is true, and that so it was meant by him; namely, That some things belonging unto external discipline and ceremonies are in the power and arbitrement of the church: but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all external discipline, and all ceremonies, are left to the order of the church, inasmuch as the sacraments of baptism and the supper of the Lord are ceremonies, which yet the church may not therefore abrogate. Again, excommunication is a part of external discipline, which might also be cast away if all external discipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the church. By which their answer it doth appear, that touching the names of ceremony and external discipline, they gladly would have so understood, as if we did herein contain a great deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them, is, that they overmuch abridge the church of her power in these things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in these things we gave the church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of discipline containeth were at the church's free choice. So that we might either have church-governors and government, or want them; either retain or reject church-censures as we list. They wonder at us as at men which think it so indifferent what the church doth in matter of ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we judge the very sacraments themselves to be held at the church's pleasure. No, the

[a] Upon the indefinite speaking of Mr. Calvin, saying, Ceremonies and external discipline, without adding all or some, you go about subtilly to make men believe, that Mr. Calvin hath placed the whole external discipline in the power and arbitrement of the church. For if all external discipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the church, excommunication also (which is a part of it) might be cast away; which I think you will not say.—And in the very next words before: Where you will give to understand, that ceremonies and external discipline are not prescribed particularly by the word of God, and therefore left to the order of the church: you must understand, that all external discipline is not left to the order of the church, being particularly prescribed in the Scriptures, no more than all ceremonies are left to the order of the church, as the sacraments of baptism and the supper of the Lord. T. C. lib. i. p. 32.

name of ceremonies we do not use in so large a meaning, as to bring sacraments within the compass and reach thereof; although things belonging unto the outward form and seemly administration of them are contained in that name, even as we use it. For the name of ceremonies we use as they themselves do, when they speak after this sort: "The doctrine and discipline of the church, as the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto; but the ceremonies also, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected." Besides, in the matter of external discipline or regiment itself, we do not deny but there are some things whereto the church is bound till the world's end. So as the question is only, how far the bounds of the church's liberty do reach. We hold, that the power which the church hath lawfully to make laws and orders for itself doth extend unto sundry things of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the church's authority and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in disputing against us about this point, they take their compass a great deal wider than the truth of things can afford; producing reasons and arguments by way of generality, to prove that Christ hath set down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his church, and hath absolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution, great or small (for so their manner of disputing is); we are constrained to make our defence by shewing, that Christ hath not deprived his church so far of all liberty in making orders and laws for itself, and that they themselves do not think he hath so done. For are they able to shew that all particular customs, rites, and orders, of reformed churches, have been appointed by Christ himself? No: they grant, that in matter of circumstance they alter that which they have received;[a] but in things of substance they keep the laws of Christ without change. If we say the same in our own behalf (which surely we may do with a great deal more truth), then must they cancel all that hath been before alleged, and begin to inquire afresh, whether we retain the laws that Christ hath delivered concerning matters of substance, yea or no. For our constant persuasion in this point is as theirs, that we have no where altered the laws of Christ, farther than in such

T. C. lib. iii. p 171.

[a] We deny not but certain things are left to the order of the church, because they are of the nature of those which are varied by times, places, persons, and other circumstances, and so could not at once be set down and established for ever. T. C. *lib. i. p. 27.*

particularities only as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Christ hath commanded prayers to be made, sacraments to be ministered, his church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of these, somewhat Christ hath commanded, which must be kept till the world's end. On the contrary side, in every of them somewhat there may be added, as the church shall judge it expedient. So that if they will speak to purpose, all which hitherto hath been disputed of, they must give over, and stand upon such particulars only as they can shew we have either added or abrogated otherwise than we ought in the matter of church-polity. Whatsoever Christ hath commanded for ever to be kept in his church, the same we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatsoever our laws have thereunto added besides, of such quality we hope it as no law of Christ doth any where condemn. Wherefore, that all may be laid together and gathered into a narrow room;

I. First, so far forth as the church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible spouse, it needeth no external polity. That very part of the law Divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness, is itself alone sufficient for the church of God in that respect. But as the church is a visible society and body politic, laws of polity it cannot want.

II. Secondly, whereas therefore it cometh in the second place to be inquired, what laws are fittest and best for the church; they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion, which depriveth the church of liberty to make any kind of law for herself, inclined (as it should seem) thereunto; for that they imagined all things which the church doth without commandment of Holy Scripture, subject to that reproof which the Scripture itself useth in certain cases, when Divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoever, to say, "The word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the church." St. Augustine was of another mind, who, speaking of fasts on the Sunday, saith, "that he which would choose out that day to fast on, should give thereby no small offence to the church of God, which had received a contrary custom. For in these things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the use of the people of God, or the ordi-

Isa. xxix. 14. Col. ii. 22.

August. Epist. 36.

nances of our fathers, must serve for a law. In which case, if we will dispute, and condemn one sort by another's custom, it will be but matter of endless contention; where, forasmuch as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into men's heads any certain or necessary truth, surely it standeth us upon to take heed, lest with the tempest of strife, the brightness of charity and love be darkened." If all things must be commanded of God which may be practised of his church, I would know what commandment the Gileadites had to erect that altar which is spoken of in the Book of Joshua. Did not congruity of reason induce them thereunto, and suffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandment the women of Israel had yearly to mourn and lament in the memory of Jephthah's daughter; what commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feast of dedication, never spoken of in the law, yet solemnized even by our Saviour himself; what commandment, finally, they had for the ceremony of odours used about the bodies of the dead, after which custom notwithstanding (sith it was their custom) our Lord was contented that his own most precious body should be entombed. Wherefore to reject all orders of the church which men have established, is to think worse of the laws of men in this respect, than either the judgment of wise men alloweth, or the law of God itself will bear. Howbeit, they which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the church, and not commanded of God to be done, saw it was necessary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold, that needs there must be in Scripture set down a complete particular form of church-polity, a form prescribing how all the affairs of the church must be ordered, a form in no respect lawful to be altered by mortal men. For reformation of which oversight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Christian love and charity to instruct them better, and to open unto them the difference between matters of perpetual necessity to all men's salvation, and matters of ecclesiastical polity: the one both fully and plainly taught in Holy Scripture; the other not necessary to be in such sort there prescribed: the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authors of the former opinion were presently seconded by other wittier *and better* learned, who being loath that the form of church-

Josh. xxii.

Judg. xi. 40.

John x. 22.

John xix. 40.

polity which they sought to bring in, should be otherwise than in the highest degree accounted of, took,

First, an exception against the difference between church- I.
polity and matters of necessity to salvation. Secondly, II.
against the restraint of Scripture, which (they say) receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well matter of polity as of faith and salvation. Thirdly, III.
constrained thereby we have been, therefore, both to maintain that distinction as a thing not only true in itself, but by them likewise so acknowledged, though unawares. Fourthly, and IV.
to make manifest that from Scripture, we offer not to derogate the least thing that truth thereunto doth claim, inasmuch as by us it is willingly confessed, that the Scripture of God is a storehouse abounding with inestimable treasures of wisdom and knowledge in many kinds, over and above things in this one kind barely necessary; yea, even that matters of ecclesiastical polity are not therein omitted but taught also, albeit not so taught as those other things beforementioned. For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing ever can need to be added, nothing ever cease to be necessary: these on the contrary side, as being of a far other nature and quality, not so strictly nor everlastingly commanded in Scripture; but that unto the complete form of church-polity, much may be requisite which the Scripture teacheth not; and much which it hath taught become unrequisite, sometimes because we need not use it, sometimes also because we cannot. In which respect, for mine own part, although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture, I mean the government that is by bishops, inasmuch as both those churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment; which to remedy it, is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble: this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such a case than exaggerate; considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is the best; and to content themselves with that which either the irremediable error of former times, or the necessity of the present,
hath cast upon them. Fifthly, now, because that position V.
first-mentioned, which holdeth it necessary that all things which the church may lawfully do in her own regiment be

commanded in Holy Scripture, hath by the later defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over-extreme, are notwithstanding loath to acknowledge any oversight therein, and therefore labour what they may to salve it up by construction; we have for the more perspi-
VI. cuity delivered what was thereby meant at the first. Sixthly, How injurious a thing it were unto all the churches of
VII. God for men to hold it in that meaning. Seventhly, And how imperfect their interpretations are, who so much labour to help it either by dividing commandments of Scripture into two kinds, and so defending, that all things must be
VIII. commanded if not in special, yet in general precepts. Eighthly, Or by taking it as meant, that in case the church do devise any new order, she ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any starlight of man's reason.
IX. Ninthly, Both which evasions being cut off, we have in the next place declared after what sort the church may lawfully frame to herself laws of polity, and in what reckoning such positive laws both are with God, and should be with men.
X. Tenthly, Farthermore, because to abridge the liberty of the church in this behalf, it hath been made a thing very odious, that when God himself hath devised some certain laws, and committed them to sacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, should presume to alter and change them; it was of necessity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing those his laws unto Scripture, be sufficient arguments to prove that God doth in no case allow they should suffer any such
XI. kind of change. Eleventhly, The last refuge for proof, that Divine laws of Christian church-polity may not be altered, by extinguishment of any old, or addition of new, in that kind, is partly a marvellous strange discourse, that Christ (unless he should shew himself not so faithful as Moses, or not so wise as Lycurgus and Solon[a]) must needs have set down in Holy Scripture some certain complete and unchangeable form of polity; and partly a coloured show of some evidence, where change of that sort of laws may seem expressly forbidden, although in truth nothing less be done.

[a] Nisi Reip. suæ statum omnem constituerit, magistratus ordinarit, singulorum munera potestatemque descripserit, quæ judiciorum forique ratio habenda? quomodo civium finiendæ lites? non solum minus Ecclesiæ Christianæ providit, quam Moses olim Judaicæ, sed quam a Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, civitatibus suis prospectum sit. *Lib. de Ecclesiast. Discip.*

I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular disputes, as, the church is a city, yea, the city of the great King; and the life of a city is polity. The church is the house of the living God; and what house can there be without some order for the government of it? In the royal house of a prince, there must be officers for government, such as not any servant in the house, but the prince whose the house is, shall judge convenient; so the house of God must have orders for the government of it, such as not any of the household, but God himself, hath appointed. It cannot stand with the love and wisdom of God to leave such order untaken as is necessary for the due government of his church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire, of Solomon's servants, did shew his wisdom; therefore he which is greater than Solomon hath not failed to leave in his house such orders for government thereof as may serve to be as a looking-glass for his providence, care, and wisdom, to be seen in. That little spark of the light of nature which remaineth in us, may serve us for the affairs of this life; but as in all other matters concerning the kingdom of heaven, so principally in this which concerneth the very government of that kingdom, needful it is we should be taught of God. "As long as men are persuaded of any order that it is only of men, they presume of their own understanding, and they think to devise another not only as good, but better than that which they have received. By severity of punishment this presumption and curiosity may be restrained. But that cannot work such cheerful obedience as is yielded where the conscience hath respect to God as the author of laws and orders. This was it which countenanced the laws of Moses, made concerning outward polity for the administration of holy things. The like some lawgivers of the heathens did pretend, but falsely; yet wisely discerning the use of this persuasion. For the better obedience' sake therefore it was expedient, that God should be author of the polity of his church. But to what issue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with such discourses, were of nothing more fully persuaded than of this, that the Scripture hath set down a complete form of church-polity, universal, perpetual, altogether unchangeable. For so it would follow, if the premises were sound and strong to such effect as is pretended. Notwithstanding, they which have thus formally

maintained argument in defence of the first oversight, are by the very evidence of truth themselves constrained to make this in effect their conclusion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning church-polity; that of those many some are of greater weight, some of less; that what hath been urged as touching immutability of laws, it extendeth in truth no farther than only to laws wherein things of greater moment are prescribed.

he Defence Godly inisters ainst Dr. ridges, p. 13.

Now these things of greater moment, what are they? Forsooth, "doctors, pastors, lay-elders, elderships compounded of these three: synods, consisting of many elderships, deacons, women-church-servants, or widows; free consent of the people unto actions of greatest moment, after they be by churches or synods orderly resolved." All this form of polity, if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few rafters together, and those not all of the soundest neither; but, howsoever, all this form they conclude is prescribed in such sort, that to add to it any thing as of like importance (for so I think they mean), or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which resolution, if they will firmly and constantly persist, I see not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been disputed of, they must agree, that they have molested the church with needless opposition; and henceforward, as we said before, betake themselves wholly unto the trial of particulars, whether every of those things which they esteem as principal be either so esteemed of, or at all established for perpetuity in Holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our church-polity be received other than the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things, or in smaller. The matters wherein church-polity is conversant, are the public religious duties of the church, as the administration of the word and sacraments, prayers, spiritual censures, and the like. To these the church standeth always bound. Laws of polity, are laws which appoint in what manner these duties shall be performed. In performance whereof, because all that are of the church cannot jointly and equally work, the first thing in polity required, is a difference of persons in the church, without which difference those functions cannot in orderly sort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that God's clergy are a state, which hath been and will be, as long as there is a church upon earth, necessarily by the plain word of God himself;

a state whereunto the rest of God's people must be subject, as touching things that appertain to their souls' health. For where polity is, it cannot but appoint some to be leaders of others, and some to be led by others. "If the blind lead the blind, they both perish." It is with the clergy, if their persons be respected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the order of polity, they being the "light of the world," others (though better and wiser) must that way be subject unto them. Again, forasmuch as where the clergy are any great multitude, order doth necessarily require that by degrees they be distinguished; we hold there have ever been, and ever ought to be in such case, at leastwise, two sorts of ecclesiastical persons, the one subordinate unto the other; as to the apostles in the beginning, and to the bishops always since, we find plainly both in Scripture, and in all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the word and sacraments have been. Moreover, it cannot enter into any man's conceit to think it lawful, that every man, which listeth, should take upon him charge in the church; and therefore a solemn admittance is of such necessity, that without it there can be no church-polity. A number of particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of these principal and perpetual parts in ecclesiastical polity, but yet are not of such constant use and necessity in God's church. Of this kind are, time and places appointed for the exercise of religion; specialties belonging to the public solemnity of the word, the sacraments and prayer; the enlargement or abridgment of functions ministerial, depending upon those two principals beforementioned: to conclude, even whatsoever doth by way of formality and circumstance concern any public action of the church. Now although that, which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind, be for ever permanent; yet in the latter, both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the church of God shall always need what the Scripture teacheth not. So as the form of polity by them set down for perpetuity, is three ways faulty: faulty in omitting some things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely, the difference that ought to be of pastors, when they grow to any great multitude: faulty in requiring doctors, deacons, widows, and such-like, as things of perpetual necessity by the

Luke vi. 39.

Matt. v. 14.

law of God, which in truth are nothing less: faulty also in urging some things by Scripture immutable; as their lay-elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable, nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find, or they have been hitherto able to prove. But hereof more in the books that follow. As for those marvellous discourses whereby they adventure to argue, that God must needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I must confess, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldness herein. When the question is, whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a complete, particular, immutable, form of church-polity; why take they that other both presumptuous and superfluous labour to prove he should have done it; there being no way in this case to prove the deed of God, saving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent upon record, they do as if one should demand a legacy by force and virtue of some written testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth, that there it must needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good-will which always the testator bore him; imagining, that these or the like proofs will convict a testament to have that in it which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he in congruity of reason ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greatest good of his church, are more in number than we can search; other in nature than that we should presume to determine, which of many should be the fittest for them to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one, we then may boldly conclude to be the fittest because he hath taken it before the rest. When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds; who, and where we are, we forget. And therefore needful it is, that our pride in such cases be controlled, and our disputes beaten back with those demands of the blessed apostle, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his counsellor?"

Rom. xi. 33, 34.

BOOK IV.

Concerning their third assertion, That our form of church-polity is corrupted with popish orders, rites, and ceremonies, banished out of certain reformed churches, whose example therein we ought to have followed.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FOURTH BOOK.

1. How great use ceremonies have in the church.
2. The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness.
3. The second, that so many of them are the same which the church of Rome useth; and the reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blameworthy.
4. How when they go about to expound what popish ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own arguments against popish ceremonies.
5. An answer to the argument, whereby they would prove, that sith we allow the customs of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customs as the church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are of that church as of our fathers.
6. To their allegation, that the course of God's own wisdom doth make against our conformity with the church of Rome in such things.
7. To the example of the eldest church, which they bring for the same purpose.
8. That it is not our best polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the church of Rome being unsound.
9. That neither the papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our ceremonies than the former allegations have done.
10. The grief, which, they say, godly brethren conceive, at such ceremonies as we have common with the church of Rome.
11. The third thing, for which they reprove a great part of our ceremonies, is, for that as we have them from the church of Rome, so that church had them from the Jews.
12. The fourth, for that sundry of them have been (they say) abused into idolatry, and are by that means become scandalous.
13. The fifth, for that we retain them still, notwithstanding the example of certain churches reformed before us, which have cast them out.
14. A declaration of the proceedings of the church of England, for the establishment of things as they are.

How great use ceremonies have in the church.

SUCH was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit, which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loath to give sentence against any thing publicly received in the church of God, except it were wonderfully apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The state of this present age wherein zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reproved, by whomsoever. Those rites and ceremonies of the church

therefore, which are the self-same now, that they were when holy and virtuous men maintained them against profane and deriding adversaries, her own children have at this day in derision. Whether justly or no, it shall then appear, when all things are heard which they have to allege against the outward-received orders of this church. Which inasmuch as themselves do compare unto mint and cummin,[a] granting them to be no part of those things which in the matter of polity are weightier, we hope that for small things their strife will neither be earnest nor long. The sifting of that which is objected against the orders of the church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to discuss only those general exceptions, which have been taken at any time against them. First, therefore, to the end that their nature and use whereto they serve may plainly appear, and so afterward their quality the better be discerned: we are to note, that in every grand or main public duty which God requireth at the hands of his church, there is, besides that matter and form wherein the essence thereof consisteth, a certain outward fashion whereby the same is in decent sort administered. The substance of all religious actions is delivered from God himself in few words. For example's sake in the sacraments, "unto the element let the word be added, and they both do make a sacrament," saith St. Augustine. Baptism is given by the element of water, and that prescript form of words which the church of Christ doth use; the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is administered in the elements of bread and wine, if those mystical words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of administering those holy sacraments doth require a great deal more. The end which is aimed at in setting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the church. Now men are edified, when either their understanding is taught somewhat whereof in such actions, it behoveth all men to consider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection suitable thereunto; when their minds are in any sort stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard, which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because therefore unto this purpose not only speech, but sundry sensible means

[a] Matt. xxiii. 23. The doctrine and discipline of the church as the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto: but the ceremonies also, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected. T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

besides have alway been thought necessary, and especially those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and the most apprehensive sense of all other, have in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and strong impression. From hence have risen not only a number of prayers, readings, questionings, exhortings, but even of visible signs also, which being used in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter as men when they know and remember carefully must needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect such duties serve. We must not think but that there is some ground of reason even in nature, whereby it cometh to pass that no nation under heaven either doth or ever did some public actions which are of weight, whether they be civil and temporal, or else spiritual and sacred, to pass without some visible solemnity: the very strangeness whereof, and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to observe and to mark the same. Words, both because they are common and do not so strongly move the fancy of man, are for the most part but slightly heard; and therefore, with singular wisdom it hath been provided that the deeds of men which are made in the presence of witnesses, should pass not only with words, but also with certain sensible actions, the memory whereof is far more easy and durable than the memory of speech can be. The things which so long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us presume to condemn as follies and toys, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorn whatsoever it doth not conceive, might ask wherefore Abraham should say to his servant: "Put thy hand under my thigh and swear;" was it not sufficient for his servant to shew the religion of an oath, by naming the Lord God of heaven and earth, unless that strange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargains and conveyances, a man's word is a token sufficient to express his will. "Yet this was the ancient manner in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging to establish all things; a man did pluck off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a sure witness in Israel." Amongst the Romans in their making of a bondman free, was it not wondered wherefore so great ado should be made? The master to present his slave in some court, to take him by the hand, and not only to say in the hearing of the public magistrate, I will

Gen xxi.

Ruth iv.

that this man become free; but after these solemn words uttered to strike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be shaved off, the magistrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him: to what purpose all this circumstance? Amongst the Hebrews how strange, and in outward appearance almost against reason, that he which was minded to make himself a perpetual servant, should not only testify so much in the presence of the judge, but for a visible token thereof have also his ear bored through with an awl! It were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so far as they might be exemplified both in civil and religious actions. For in both they have their necessary use and force. "These sensible things which religion hath allowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually understood, whereunto they serve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct."[a] And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to add to religious duties such rites and ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new sacraments; sure I am they will not say that Numa Pompilius did ordain a sacrament, a significant ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the priests "to execute the work of their Divine service with their hands as far as to the fingers covered; thereby signifying that fidelity must be defended, and that men's right hands are the sacred seat thereof."[b] Again, we are also to put them in mind, that themselves do not hold all significant ceremonies for sacraments, insomuch as imposition of hands they deny to be a sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible signification. For concerning it their words are these: "The party ordained by this ceremony was put in mind of his separation to the work of the Lord, that remembering himself to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might teach him not to account himself now his own, nor to do what himself listeth; but to consider, that God hath set him about a work, which if he will discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himself of reward; and, if otherwise, of revenge."

Exod. xxi. 6.

Eccles. dis. fol. 51.

Fol. 25. Touching significant ceremonies, some of them are sacraments, some as sacraments only. Sacraments are those, which are signs and tokens of some general promised grace,

[a] Τὰ μὲν αἰσθητῶς ἱερῶν νοητῶν ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός. Dionys. p. 121.

[b] Manu ad digitos usque involuta rem Divinam facere, significantes, fidem tutandam, sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse. Liv. lib. i.

which always really descendeth from God unto the soul that duly receiveth them; other significant tokens are only as sacraments, yet no sacraments: which is not our distinction, but theirs. For concerning the apostles' imposition of hands these are their own words, "magnum signum hoc et quasi sacramentum usurparunt;" they used this sign, or as it were a sacrament.

The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness. Lib. Eccles. disc. et T. C. l. iii. p. 181.

Concerning rites and ceremonies there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number and multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his apostles; we have embraced more outward stateliness, we have those orders in the exercise of religion, which they who best pleased God, and served him most devoutly, never had. For it is out of doubt that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian religion faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godliness did then most abound; and therefore it must needs follow, that customs, laws and ordinances devised since are not so good for the church of Christ; but the best way is, to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things unto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which rule or canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at leastwise insufficient, if not both. For in case be it certain, hard it cannot be for them to shew us where we shall find it so exactly set down, that we may say, without all controversy these were the orders of the apostles' times, these wholly and only, neither fewer nor more than these. True it is, that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea, many things declared, and many things necessarily collected out of the apostles' writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the church, which were then in use, should be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well observed, it shall unto any man easily appear, that no more of them are there touched than were needful to be spoken of, sometimes by one occasion, and sometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other records besides? Well assured I am they are far enough from acknowledging, that the church ought to keep any thing as apostolical, which is not found in the apostles' writings, in what other records soever it be found. And therefore, whereas St. Augustine affirmeth, that those things which the whole

church of Christ doth hold, may well be thought to be apostolical, although they be not found written;[a] this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will not here stand in defence of St. Augustine's opinion, which is, that such things are indeed apostolical; but yet with this exception, unless the decree of some general council have haply caused them to be received: for of positive laws and orders received throughout the whole Christian world, St. Augustine could imagine no other fountain, save these two. But to let pass St. Augustine, they who condemn him herein must needs confess it a very uncertain thing, what the orders of the church were in the apostles' times, seeing the Scriptures do not mention them all, and other records thereof besides they utterly reject. So that in tying the church to the orders of the apostles' times, they tie it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unless they require the observation of no orders but only those which are known to be apostolical by the apostles' own writings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that we should use it as a touchstone to try the orders of the church by for ever. Our end ought always to be the same; our ways and means thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of the church was the thing which the apostles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those rites and orders may be at one time more which at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in these things to urge the state of our only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am right sure, their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism; or that the eucharist should be ministered after meat; or that the custom of church-feasting should be renewed; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away, and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient enough. The

[a] Tom. vii. de Bapt. contra Donatist. lib. v. cap. 23. T. C. l. iii. p. 181. If this judgment of St. Augustine be a good judgment and sound, then there be some things commanded of God which are not in the Scripture; and therefore, there is no sufficient doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be saved. For all the commandments of God and of the apostles are needful for our salvation. Vide *Ep. 118.*

faith, zeal and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the orders of the church of Christ must be still the self-same with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased? They who recal the church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been re-received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is. Let the state of the people of God when they were in the house of bondage, and their manner of serving God in a strange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Jerusalem did afford: and who seeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt it may be, they were right glad to take some corner of a poor cottage, and there to serve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the less accepted of God: but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length, by working of their admirable deliverance, did testify that they served him not in vain. Notwithstanding in the very desert they are no sooner possessed of some little thing of their own, but a tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and having David to be their king, when the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies, it grieved his religious mind to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the affairs of religion continuing still in the former manner: "Behold now I dwell in the house of cedar-trees, and the ark of God remaineth still within curtains." What he did purpose, it was the pleasure of God that Solomon, his son, should perform, and perform it in manner suitable unto their present, not their ancient estate and condition; for which cause Solomon writeth unto the King of Tyrus: "the house which I build is great and wonderful; for great is our God above all gods." Whereby it clearly appeareth, that the orders of the church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed suitable to the greatness and dignity of later, as when they keep the reverend simplicity of ancienter times. Such dissimilitude therefore, between us and the apostles of Christ,

2 Sam. vii. 2.

2 Chron. ii. 5.

in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default.

Our orders and ceremonies blamed, in that so many of them are the same which the church of Rome useth. Eccles. Disc. fol. 12. T. C. l. i. p. 131. T. C. l. i. p. 20. T. C. l. i. p. 25.

3. Yea, but we have framed ourselves to the customs of the church of Rome; our orders and ceremonies are papistical. It is espied that our church-founders were not so careful as in this matter they should have been, but contented themselves with such discipline as they took from the church of Rome. Their error we ought to reform by abolishing all popish orders. There must be no communion nor fellowship with papists, neither in doctrine, ceremonies, nor government. It is not enough that we are divided from the church of Rome by the single wall of doctrine, retaining as we do part of their ceremonies and almost their whole government; but government or ceremonies, or whatsoever it be which is popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquishment of all things popish. Wherein, to the end we may answer them according to their plain direct meaning, and not take advantage of doubtful speech, whereby controversies grow always endless; their main position being this, that nothing should be placed in the church, but what God in his word hath commanded, they must of necessity hold all for popish which the church of Rome hath over and besides this. By popish orders, ceremonies, and government, they must therefore mean in every of these so much as the church of Rome hath embraced without commandment of God's word: so that whatsoever such thing we have, if the church of Rome hath it also, it goeth under the name of those things that are popish, yea, although it be lawful, although agreeable to the word of God. For so they plainly affirm, saying, "Although the forms and ceremonies which they (the church of Rome) used were not unlawful, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet notwithstanding neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches, both Jewish and Christian, do permit us to use the same forms and ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they, and rather better, be established." The question therefore is, whether we may follow the church of Rome in those orders, rites, and ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or else ought to devise others, and to have no conformity with them, no not

T. C. l. i. p. 131.

so much as in these things? In this sense and construction therefore as they affirm, so we deny, that whatsoever is popish we ought to abrogate. Their arguments to prove that generally all popish orders and ceremonies ought to be clean abolished, are in sum these: "First, whereas we allow the judgment of St. Augustine, that touching those things of this kind, which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to observe the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers; how can we retain the customs and constitutions of the papists in such things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers? Secondly, although the forms and ceremonies of the church of Rome were not unlawful, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the example of the eldest churches of God, nor reason, do permit us to use the same, they being heretics and so near about us, and their orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet such, but that as good or rather better may be established. It is against the word of God to have conformity with the church of Rome in such things, as appeareth in that the wisdom of God hath thought it a good way to keep his people from infection of idolatry and superstition, by severing them from idolaters in outward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themselves very lawful to be done. And farther, whereas the Lord was careful to sever them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not so careful to sever them from any as from the Egyptians amongst whom they lived, and from those nations which were next neighbours to them, because from them was the greatest fear of infection. So that following the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the papists which are so near. Touching the example of the eldest churches of God, in one council it was decreed, that Christians should not deck their houses with bay leaves and green boughs, because the pagans did use so to do; and that they should not rest from their labours those days that the pagans did; that they should not keep the first day of every month as they did. Another council decreed, that Christians should not celebrate feasts on the birth-days of the martyrs, because it was the manner of the heathen. 'O! (saith Tertullian) better is the religion of the heathen: for

T. C. l. i. p. 30.

T. C. l. i. p. 131.

T. C. l. i. p. 132.

Tom. ii. Braca. 73.

Con. Afric. cap. 27.

they use no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lord's day,[a] neither the pentecost; and if they knew them they would have nothing to do with them; for they would be afraid lest they should seem Christians: but we are not afraid to be called heathens.' The same Tertullian would not have Christians to sit after they have prayed, because the idolaters did so. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of councils, in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heed had been taken that the Christians should not be like the idolaters, no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent to be used or not used. The same conformity is not less opposite unto reason, first, inasmuch as contraries must be cured by their contraries; and therefore popery, being antichristianity, is not healed but by establishment of orders thereunto opposite. The way to bring a drunken man to sobriety, is to carry him as far from excess of drink as may be. To rectify a crooked stick, we bend it on the contrary side, as far as it was at the first on that side from whence we draw it; and so it cometh in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect straightness. Utter unconformity therefore with the church of Rome in these things, is the best and surest policy which the church can use. While we use their ceremonies, they take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the
T. C. l. iii. p. 178. staff of their ceremonies. They hereby conceive great hope of having the rest of their popery in the end, which hope causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness. Neither is it without cause that they have this hope, considering that which Mr. Bucer noteth upon the eighteenth of St. Matthew, that where these things have been left, popery hath returned; but, on the other part, in places which have been cleansed of these things, it hath not yet been seen
T. C. l. iii. p. 179. that it hath had any entrance. None make such clamours for these ceremonies as the papists, and those whom they suborn; a manifest token how much they triumph and joy in these things. They breed grief of mind in a number that are godly-minded, and have antichristianity in such detestation, that their minds are martyred with
T. C. l. iii. p. 180. the very sight of them in the church. Such godly brethren

[a] Lib. de Idolat. He seemeth to mean the feast of Easter-day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviour's resurrection, and for that cause termed the Lord's day. *Lib. de Anima.*

we ought not thus to grieve with unprofitable ceremonies, yea, ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but also danger of great hurt that may grow to the church by infection, which popish ceremonies are means to breed." This, in effect, is the sum and substance of that which they bring by way of opposition against those orders which we have common with the church of Rome; these are the reasons wherewith they would prove our ceremonies in that respect worthy of blame.

4. Before we answer unto these things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they, from whom these objections proceed, do oftentimes fly for defence and succour, when the force and strength of their argument is elided. For the ceremonies in use amongst us being in no other respect retained, saving only for that to retain them is to our seeming good and profitable; yea, so profitable and so good, that if we had either simply taken them clean away, or else removed them, so as to place in their stead others, we had done worse; the plain and direct way against us herein had been only to prove, that all such ceremonies, as they require to be abolished, are retained by us to the hurt of the church, or with less benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But forasmuch as they saw how hardly they should be able to perform this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our church under the name of being popish. The cause why this way seemed better unto them was, for that the name of popery is more odious than very paganism amongst divers of the more simple sort; so whatsoever they hear named popish they presently conceive deep hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name, but needs it must be exceeding detestable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with strong clamours. "The church of England is fraught with popish ceremonies: they, that favour the cause of reformation, maintain nothing but the sincerity of the gospel of Jesus Christ: all such as withstand them fight for the laws of his sworn enemy, uphold the filthy relics of antichrist, and are defenders of that which is popish." These are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude so many sighs; with these tunes their minds are exasperated against the lawful guides and governors of their souls: these are voices that fill them with general discontentment, as though

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reason evinceth that all such ceremonies are not to be abolished, make answer; that when they condemn popish ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies unprofitable, or ceremonies, instead whereof as good or better may be devised: they cannot hereby get out of the briars, but contradict and gainsay themselves; inasmuch as their usual manner is to prove, that ceremonies uncommanded in the church of God, and yet used in the church of Rome, are for this very cause unprofitable to us and not a

good as others in their place would be.

the bosom of that famous church wherein they live were more noisome than any dungeon. But when the authors of so scandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how can they justify such their dealings? When they are urged directly to answer, whether it be lawful for us to use any such ceremonies as the church of Rome useth, although the same be not commanded in the word of God; being driven to see that the use of some such ceremonies must of necessity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are just of the same opinion, and that they only think such ceremonies are not to be used when they are unprofitable, or when as good or better may be established.[a] Which answer is both idle in regard of us, and also repugnant to themselves. It is, in regard of us, very vain to make this answer, because they know that what ceremonies we retain common unto the church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be such, that others instead of them would be worse. So that when they say that we ought to abrogate such Romish ceremonies as are unprofitable, or else might have other more profitable in their stead, they trifle, and they beat the air about nothing which toucheth us, unless they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romish ceremonies, which in their judgment have either no use, or less use than some other might have. But then must they shew some commission, whereby they are authorized to sit as judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this case. Otherwise, their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their methinketh unto the orders of the church of England: as in the question about surplices one of them doth; "if we look to the colour, black methinks is the more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comeliness in it." If they think that we ought to prove the ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themselves. For in all right and equity, that which the church hath received and held so long for good, that which public approbation hath ratified, must carry the benefit of presumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have stood up as yesterday to challenge it of defect, must prove

Eccles. Discip. fol. 100.

[a] What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles, not to be lawful to use the same ceremonies which the papists did; when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expressly added, that they are not to be used when as good or better may be established! T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

their challenge. If we being defendants do answer, that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the church; their reply is childish and inorderly, to say, that we demand the thing in question,[a] and shew the poverty of our cause, the goodness whereof we are fain to beg that our adversaries would grant. For on our part this must be the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth rest on them. In them it is frivolous to say, we ought not to use bad ceremonies of the church of Rome, and presume all such bad as it pleaseth themselves to dislike, unless we can persuade them the contrary. Besides, they are herein opposite also to themselves. For what one thing is so common with them, as to use the custom of the church of Rome for an argument to prove, that such and such ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inasmuch as that church useth them? Which usual kind of disputing sheweth, that they do not disallow only those Romish ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romish, that is to say, which have been devised by the church, of Rome, or which are used in that church, and not prescribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can use suitable unto their other positions. And therefore, the cause which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in doctrine and in discipline some things as good, which yet are common to the church of Rome, is, for that those good things are perpetual commandments, in whose place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatsoever by the word of God is not changeable in the church of Rome, that church's using is a cause why reformed churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And lest we seem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, That we are thus constrained to be like unto the papists in any their ceremonies; yea, they urge that this cause, although it were alone, ought to move them, to whom that belongeth, to do them away, forasmuch as they are their ceremonies; and that the Bishop of Salisbury doth justify this their complaint.[b] The clause is untrue which they

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 176. As for your often repeating that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, and decent; it is your old wont of demanding the thing in question, and an undoubted argument of your extreme poverty. T. C. l. iii. p. 174.

[b] And that this complaint of ours is just in that we are thus constrained to be like

add concerning the Bishop of Salisbury, but the sentence doth shew, that we do them no wrong in setting down the state of the question between us thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the church of England all such orders, rites and ceremonies as are established in the church of Rome, and are not prescribed in the word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to answer such proofs of theirs as have been before alleged.

That our allowing the customs of our fathers to be followed, is no proof that we may not allow some customs which the church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

5. Let the church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for catholics, or hold them for heretics, it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our conformity with them in such things as have been proposed is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St. Augustine hath said, yea, and we have allowed his saying, "That the custom of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers, are to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge." What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they, being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good, if so be it were granted, that only the custom of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be observed. But then should no other kind of latter laws in the church be good, which were a gross absurdity to think. St. Augustine's speech therefore doth import, that where we have no Divine precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law, and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may observe the positive constitutions of our own churches, although the same were but yesterday made by ourselves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the church of England might not by law receive orders, rites or customs from the church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much less, when we have received from them nothing but that which they did themselves receive from such as we cannot deny to have been

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unto the papists in any their ceremonies; and that this cause only ought to move them to whom that belongeth to do theirs away, forasmuch as they are their ceremonies, the reader may farther see in the Bishop of Salisbury, who brings divers *proofs* thereof. T. C. l. iii. p. 177.

the people of God, yea such as either we must acknowledge for our own forefathers, or else disdain the race of Christ?

6. The rites and orders wherein we follow the church of Rome, are of no other kind than such as the church of Geneva itself doth follow them in. We follow the church of Rome in more things; yet they in some things of the same nature, about which our present controversy is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of rites only, wherein they and we do follow the church of Rome. The use of wafer-cakes, the custom of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, are things not commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, things which have been of old, and are retained in the church of Rome even at this very hour. Is conformity with Rome in such things a blemish unto the church of England, and unto churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this church (in the bowels whereof they have received, I trust, that precious and blessed vigour, which shall quicken them to eternal life), yet at the leastwise for the singular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they strike, lest they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they plead, that even such ceremonies of the church of Rome, as contain in them nothing which is not of itself agreeable to the word of God, ought nevertheless to be abolished, and that neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches do permit, the church of Rome to be therein followed. Heretics they are, and they are our neighbours. By us and amongst us they lead their lives. But what then? Therefore is no ceremony of theirs lawful for us to use? We must yield and will, that none are lawful if God himself be a precedent against the use of any. But how appeareth it that God is so? Hereby, they say, it doth appear, in that "God severed his people from the heathens, but especially from the Egyptians, and such nations as were nearest neighbours unto them, by forbidding them to do those things which were in themselves very lawful to be done, yea, very profitable some, and incommodious to be forborn; such things it pleased God to forbid them, only because those heathens did them, with whom conformity in the same thing might have bred infection. Thus in shaving, cutting, apparel-wearing, yea, in sundry kinds of meats also, swine's-flesh, conies and such like, they were forbidden to

That the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, maketh not against our conformity with the church of Rome in such things.

T. C. l. i. p. 89, 131.

Lev. xviii. 3.

Levit. xix. 27. xix. 19.

Deut. xxii. 11. xiv. 7. Lev. xi. Ephes. ii. 14.

do so and so, because the gentiles did so. And the end why God forbad them such things was to sever them, for fear of infection, by a great and a high wall, from other nations, as St. Paul teacheth." The cause of more careful separation from the nearest nations was, the greatness of danger to be especially by them infected. Now, papists are to us as those nations were unto Israel. Therefore, if the wisdom of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any indifferent ceremonies. Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleged we may still doubt whether the Lord in such indifferent ceremonies as those whereof we dispute did frame his people of set purpose unto any utter dissimilitude, either with Egyptians, or with any other nation else. And if God did not forbid them all such indifferent ceremonies, then our conformity with the church of Rome in some such is not hitherto as yet disproved, although papists

Levit. xviii. 3.

were unto us as those heathens were unto Israel. "After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein you dwelt, ye shall not do, saith the Lord; and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, shall ye not do, neither walk in their ordinances: do after my judgments, and keep my ordinances to walk therein; I am the Lord your God." The speech is indefinite, Ye shall not be like them: it is not general, Ye shall not be like them in any thing, or like to them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent ceremony of theirs. Seeing therefore it is not set down how far the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure us, that it extendeth farther than to those things only, wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did against that which the law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seem a thing very probable, that God doth purposely add, Do after my judgments, as giving thereby to understand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things as were repugnant unto the ordinances, laws and statutes which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example's sake named unto them, because the customs of the one they had been, and of the other they should be, best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was such peradventure as had been no whit less unlawful, although those nations had never been. So that there is no necessity to think that God, for fear of infection by reason of nearness, forbade them

to be like unto the Canaanites, or the Egyptians, in those things which otherwise had been lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in those nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in itself, yet forbidden only because they used it. In the laws of Israel we find it written, "Ye shall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou tear the tufts of thy beard." These things were usual amongst those nations, and in themselves they are indifferent. But are they indifferent, being used as signs of immoderate and hopeless lamentation for the dead? In this sense it is that the law forbiddeth them. For which cause the very next words following are, "Ye shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you; I am the Lord." The like in Leviticus, where speech is of mourning for the dead; "They shall not make bald parts upon their head, nor shave off the locks of their beard, nor make any cutting in their flesh." Again in Deuteronomy, "Ye are the children of the Lord your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make you baldness between your eyes for the dead." What is this but in effect the same which the apostle doth more plainly express, saying, "Sorrow not as they do who have no hope?" The very light of nature itself was able to see herein a fault; that which those nations did use, having been also in use with others, the ancient Roman laws do forbid. That shaving therefore and cutting, which the law doth mention, was not a matter in itself indifferent, and forbidden only because it was in use amongst such idolaters as were neighbours to the people of God: but to use it had been a crime, though no other people or nation under heaven should have done it saving only themselves. As for those laws concerning attires: "There shall no garment of linen and woollen come upon thee;" as also those touching food and diet, wherein swine's flesh, together with sundry other meats, are forbidden; the use of these things had been indeed of itself harmless and indifferent: so that hereby it doth appear, how the law of God forbad in some special consideration, such things as were lawful enough in themselves. But yet even here they likewise fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the consideration, in regard whereof the law forbiddeth these things, was because those nations did use them. Likely enough it is, that the Canaanites used to feed as well on sheep as on swine's flesh; and therefore, if the forbidding

Levit. xix. 27.
Levit. xxi. 5.
Deut. xiv. 1.
1 Thess. iv. 13.
Levit. xix. 19.
Deut. xxii. 11.
Deut. xiv. 7.
Levit. xi.
Levit. xix. 19.

of the latter had no other reason than dissimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads allege this for reason, can shew I think some reason more than we are able to find why the former was not also forbidden. Might there not be some other mystery in this prohibition than they think of? Yes, some other mystery there was in it by all likelihood. For what reason is there, which should but induce, and therefore much less enforce us to think, that care of dissimilitude between the people of God and the heathen nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stuff, than of charging them withal not to sow their fields with meslin; or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eat swine's flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of eagles, hawks, and the like? Wherefore, although the church of Rome were to us, as to Israel the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow, that the wisdom of God without respect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition-wall of difference, in such things indifferent as have been hitherto disputed of.

Deut. xiv. Levit. xi.

Ephes. ii. 14.

That the example of the eldest churches is not herein against us.

7. Neither is the example of the eldest churches a whit more available to this purpose, notwithstanding some fault undoubtedly there is in the very resemblance of idolaters.[a] Were it not some kind of blemish to be like unto infidels and heathens, it would not so usually be objected; men would not think it any advantage in the causes of religion to be able therewith justly to charge their adversaries as they do. Wherefore, to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath, and how far the same extendeth, we are to note how all men are naturally desirous, that they may seem neither to judge nor to do amiss, because every error and offence is a stain to the beauty of nature, for which cause it blushes thereat, but glorieth in the contrary; from whence it riseth, that they which disgrace or depress the credit of others, do it either in both or in one of these. To have been in either directed by a weak and unperfect rule, argueth imbecility and imperfection. Men being either led by reason or by imitation of other men's examples, if their persons be odious, whose example we choose to follow, as namely, if we

[a] The councils, although they did not observe themselves always in making of decrees this rule, yet have kept this consideration continually in making of their laws, that they would have Christians differ from others in their ceremonies. T. C. *l. i. p. 132.*

frame our opinions to that which condemned heretics think, or direct our actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lies as a heavy prejudice against us, unless somewhat mightier than their bare example did move us to think or do the same things with them. Christian men therefore having, besides the common light of all men, so great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the lamps of so bright examples as the church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily seem reproachful for us to leave both the one and the other to become disciples unto the most hateful sort that live, to do as they do, only because we see their example before us, and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the heathens either in opinion or in action; and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do, without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example: which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable. Faustus the Manichee therefore, objecting against the Jews, that they forsook the idols of the gentiles; but their temples, and oblations, and altars, and priesthoods, and all kinds of ministry of holy things, they exercised even as the gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deal; against the catholic Christians likewise, that between them and the heathens there was in many things little difference; "From them (saith Faustus) ye have learned to hold that one only God is the author of all; their sacrifices ye have turned into feasts of charity, their idols into martyrs, whom ye honour with the like religious offices unto theirs; the ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates, the festival days of the nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye have utterly changed nothing." St. Augustine's defence, in behalf of both, is, that touching the matters of action, Jews and catholic Christians were free from the gentiles' faultiness, even in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with the gentiles: and, concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the gentiles, because gentiles had so taught, but because heaven and earth had so witnessed the same to be truth, that neither the one sort could err in being fully persuaded thereof, nor the other but err in case they

Tom. vi. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. xx. cap. 4.

should not consent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent, if either councils, or particular men, have at any time with sound judgment misliked conformity between the church of God and infidels, the cause whereof hath been somewhat else than only affectation or dissimilitude, they saw it necessary so to do in respect of some special accident, which the church being not always subject unto, hath not still cause to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of trial, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jesus Christ to triumph over infidelity but through the constancy of his saints, whom yet a natural desire to save themselves from the flame might peradventure cause to join with pagans in external customs, too far using the same as a cloak to conceal themselves in, and a mist to darken the eyes of infidels withal; for remedy hereof those laws it might be were provided, which forbad that Christians should deck their houses with boughs as the pagans did use to do,[a] or rest those festival days whereon the pagans rested, or celebrate such feasts as were, though not heathenish, yet, such as the simpler sort of heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them. As for Tertullian's judgment concerning the rites and orders of the church, no man having judgment can be ignorant how just exceptions may be taken against it.[b] His opinion touching the catholic church was as unindifferent, as touching our church the opinion of them that favour this pretended reformation is; he judged all them who did not montanize to be but carnally-minded; he judged them still over-abjectly to fawn upon the heathens, and to curry favour with infidels; which, as the catholic church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so Tertullian over-often through discontentment carpeth injuriously at them, as though they did it even when they were free from such meaning. But if it were so that either the judgment of these councils before alleged, or of Tertullian himself against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be understood as we have mentioned; if it were

[a] Also, it was decreed in another council, that they should not deck their houses with bay-leaves and green boughs, because the pagans did use so; and that they should not rest from their labour those days that the pagans did, that they should not keep the first day of every month as they did. T. C. l. i. p. 132.

[b] Tertul. saith, O saith he, better is the religion of the heathen; for they use no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lord's day, neither, &c. but are not afraid to be called heathen. T. C. l. i. p. 132. But having shewed this in general to be the policy of God first, and of his people afterward, to put as much difference as can be commodiously between the people of God and others which are not, I shall not, &c. T. C. l. i. p. 133.

so, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for using the ceremonies of a religion contrary unto their own, and that this cause is such as ought to prevail no less with us than with them; shall it not follow, that seeing there is still between our religion and paganism the selfsame contrariety, therefore we are no less rebukable if we now deck our houses with boughs, or send new-year's gifts unto our friends, or feast on those days which the gentiles then did, or sit after prayers as they were accustomed? For so they infer upon the premises, that as great difference as commodiously may be there should be in all outward ceremonies between the people of God, and them which are not his people. Again, they teach, as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatsoever rites and ceremonies uncommanded by God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the very difference of spiritual condition itself between the servants of Christ and others, requireth such difference in ceremonies between them, although the one be never so far disjoined in time or place from the other. But in case the people of God and Belial do chance to be neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, so the same difference they say is thereby made more necessary. In this respect as the Jews were severed from the heathen, so most especially from the heathen nearest them. And in the same respect we, which ought to differ howsoever from the church of Rome, are now, they say, by reason of our nearness, more bound to differ from them in ceremonies than from Turks. A strange kind of speech unto Christian ears, and such as, I hope, they themselves do acknowledge unadvisedly uttered: "We are not so much to fear infection from Turks as from papists." What of that? we must remember that by conforming rather ourselves in that respect to Turks, we should be spreaders of a worse infection into others than any we are likely to draw from papists by our conformity with them in ceremonies. If they did hate, as Turks do, the Christian, or as Canaanites did of old the Jewish religion, even in gross; the circumstance of local nearness in them unto us, might haply enforce in us a duty of greater separation from them than from those other mentioned. But forasmuch as papists are so much in Christ nearer unto us than Turks, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will

judge it meeter that our ceremonies of Christian religion should be popish, than Turkish or heathenish? especially considering that we were not brought to dwell amongst them (as Israel in Canaan), having not been of them: for even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, first to reform ourselves (whence grew our separation), and then by all good means to seek also their reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions, but also estranged ourselves from them in things indifferent, who seeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to so good a cause, and what occasion it had given them to think (to their greater obduration in evil), that, through a froward or wanton desire of innovation, we did unconstrainedly those things for which conscience was pretended? Howsoever the cause doth stand, as Judah had been rather to choose conformity in things indifferent with Israel when they were nearest opposites, than with the farthest removed pagans; so we in like cases, much rather with papists than with Turks. I might add farther, for a more full and complete answer, so much concerning the large odds between the case of the eldest churches in regard of those heathens, and ours in respect of the church of Rome, that very cavillation itself should be satisfied, and have no shift to fly unto.

That it is not our best policy for the establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the church of Rome, being unsound.

8. But that no one thing may detain us over long, I return to their reasons against our conformity with that church. That extreme dissimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our best and safest policy for establishment of sound religion. The ground of which politic position is, that evils must be cured by their contraries; and therefore the cure of the church infected with the poison of antichristianity, must be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be.[a] A meddled estate of the orders of the gospel and the ceremonies of popery, is not the best way to banish popery. We are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a sick, and restore a diseased body unto health, must not endeavour so much to bring it to a simple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto those evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme

[a] Common reason so doth teach that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Christianity and anti-christianity, the gospel and popery, be contraries; and therefore antichristianity must be cured, not by itself, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it. T. C. l. i. p. 131.

heat by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the disease, but together with it the diseased too. The first thing therefore in skilful cures is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the evil which doth affect it; the last is not only of the kind, but also of the measure, of contrary things whereby to remove it. They which measure religion by dislike of the church of Rome, think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arians in reformed churches of Poland, which imagine the canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief, no, not concerning God himself; but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of antichristian corruption; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to pass that the bishop of the see of Rome should be famous for his triple crown; a sensible mark whereby the world might know him to be that mystical beast spoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious antichrist in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdom therefore and skill are requisite to know what parts are sound in that church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparent, which complain of unsound parts, with what kind of unsoundness every such part is possessed. They can say, that in doctrine, in discipline, in prayers, in sacraments, the church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and gross corruptions: the nature whereof notwithstanding, because they have not for the most part exact skill and knowledge to discern, they think that amiss many times which is not; and the salve of reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the sores are which need it, as they wot full little, so they think it not greatly material to search. Such men's contentment must be wrought by stratagem; the usual method of art is not for them. But with those that profess more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things nought and things indifferent in the church of Rome, we are yet at controversy about the manner of removing that which is nought: whether it may not be perfectly helped, unless that also which is indifferent be cut off with it so far till no rite or ceremony remain which the church of Rome

hath, being not found in the word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great excess is not amiss, though we use them unto somewhat less than is competent;[a] and that a crooked stick is not straightened, unless it be bent as far on the clean contrary side, that so it may settle itself at the length in a middle estate of evenness between both. But how can these comparisons stand them in any stead? When they urge us to extreme opposition against the church of Rome, do they mean we should be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterward return to a mediocrity? Or was it the purpose of those reformed churches, which utterly abolished all popish ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenness and moderation? Then have we conceived amiss of their meaning. For we have always thought their opinion to be, that utter unconformity with the church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we should be drawn for a time; but the very mediocrity itself wherein they meant we should ever continue. Now by these comparisons it seemeth clean contrary, that howsoever they have bent themselves at first to an extreme contrariety against the Romish church, yet therein they will continue no longer than only till such time as some more moderate course for establishment of the church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the first their intent, yet surely now there is great cause to lead them unto it. They have seen that experience of the former policy which may cause the authors of it to hang down their heads. When Germany had stricken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the church of Rome, but seemed nevertheless in discipline still to retain therewith very great conformity; France, by that rule of policy which hath been beforementioned, took away the popish orders which Germany did retain. But process of time hath brought more light into the world; whereby men perceiving that they of the religion in France have also retained some orders which were before in the church of Rome, and are not commanded in the word of

[a] If a man would bring a drunken man to sobriety, the best and nearest way is to carry him as far from his excess in drink as may be; and if a man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in prescribing less than he should drink, than to fault in giving him more than we ought. As we see, to bring a stick which is crooked to be straight, we do not only bow it so far until it come to be straight, but we bend it so far until we make it to be so crooked on the other side as it was before of the first side; to this end, that at the last it may stand straight, and as it were in the midway between both the crooks. T. C. l. i. p. 132.

God; there hath arisen a sect in England, which following still the very self-same rule of policy, seeketh to reform even the French reformation, and purge out from thence also dregs of popery. These have not taken as yet such root that they are able to establish any thing. But if they had what would spring out of their stock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of such policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to see, may somewhat teach us what posterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatsoever evil our swervings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the state of his church.

9. That the church of Rome doth hereby take occasion to blaspheme, and to say our religion is not able to stand of itself, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies,[a] is not a matter of so great moment that it did need to be objected, or doth deserve to receive an answer. The name of blasphemy in this place, is like the shoe of Hercules on a child's foot. If the church of Rome do use any such kind of silly exprobration, it is no such ugly thing to the ear that we should think the honour and credit of our religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make so perilous a matter do seem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of some new religion; the furniture whereof we should not have borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieving us might afterward laugh and gibe at our poverty: whereas in truth the ceremonies which we have taken from such as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customs of the church of Christ; whereof ourselves being a part, we have the self-same interest in them which our fathers before us had, from whom the same are descended unto us. Again, in case we had been so much beholden privately unto them, doth the reputation of one church stand by saying unto another, I need thee not? If some should be so vain and impotent as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the least they suppose themselves to have bestowed some good turn; yet surely a wise body's part it were not, to put out his fire because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom he borrowed perad-

That we are not to abolish our ceremonies either because papists upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are said hereby to conceive I know not what great hopes.

[a] By using of these ceremonies, the papists take occasion to blaspheme, saying that our religion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies. T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

venture wherewith to kindle it, might haply cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, Were it not for me thou wouldst freeze, and not be able to heat thyself. As for that other argument derived from the secret affection of papists, with whom our conformity in certain ceremonies is said to put them in great hope that their whole religion in time will have re-entrance, and therefore none are so clamorous amongst us for the observation of these ceremonies as papists, and such as papists suborn to speak for them, whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoice, how much they triumph in these things;[a] our answer hereunto is still the same, that the benefit we have by such ceremonies overweigheth even this also. No man that is not exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is most just cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to deliberate for ourselves, the freer our minds are from all distempered affections, the sounder and better is our judgment. When we are in a fretting mood at the church of Rome, and with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the orders and rites of our church, taking particular survey of them, we are sure to have always one eye fixed upon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe or heavy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other suitable token either of dislike or approbation towards our own orders. For the rule of our judgment in such case being only that of Homer, "This is the thing which our enemies would have;"[b] what they seem contented with, even for that very cause we reject; and there is nothing but it pleaseth us much the better, if we espy that it galleth them. Miserable were the state and condition of that church, the weighty affairs whereof should be ordered by those deliberations wherein such a humour as this were predominant. We have most heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongst us, to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another mark, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his church, took that which they judged thereunto necessary, not rejecting any good or convenient thing, only because the church of Rome might perhaps like it. If we have

[a] To prove the papists triumph and joy in these things, I alleged farther that there are none which make such clamours for these ceremonies, as the papists and those which they suborn. T. C. l. iii. p. 179.

[b] Ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος. Il. A.

that which is meet and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them this their solace; we do not think it a duty of ours to be in every such thing their tormentors. And whereas it is said, that popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in some places taken root and flourished again,[a] but hath not been able to re-establish itself in any place after provision made against it by utter evacuation of all Romish ceremonies, and therefore, as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in some more hope than if all were taken away: as we deny not but this may be true; so being of two evils to choose the less, we hold it better that the friends and favourers of the church of Rome should be in some kind of hope to have a corrupt religion restored, than both we and they conceive just fear lest, under colour of rooting out popery, the most effectual means to bear up the state of religion be removed, and so a way made either for paganism or for extreme barbarity to enter. If desire of weakening the hope of others should turn us away from the course we have taken; how much more the care of preventing our own fear, withhold us from that we are urged unto? especially seeing that our own fear we know, but we are not so certain what hope the rites and orders of our church have bred in the hearts of others. For it is no sufficient argument therefore to say, that in maintaining and urging these ceremonies, none are so clamorous as papists and they whom papists suborn; this speech being more hard to justify than the former, and so their proof more doubtful than the thing itself which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, must have marked who they be that speak for ceremonies; he must have noted, who amongst them doth speak oftenest or is most earnest; he must have been both acquainted thoroughly with the religion of such, and also privy to what conferences or compacts are passed in secret between them and others; which kind of notices are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which allege this, would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which

[a] Thus they conceiving hope of having the rest of their popery in the end, it causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness, &c. For not the cause but the occasion also ought to be taken away, &c. Although let the reader judge, whether they have cause given to hope, that the tail of popery yet remaining, they shall the easilier hale in the whole body after: considering also that Mr. Bucer noteth, that where these things have been left, there popery hath returned; but on the other part, in places which have been cleansed of these dregs, it hath not been seen that it hath had any entrance. T. C. l. iii. p. 179.

all men know and see. And if so be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be popish are eager in maintenance of ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to find a good thing fathered by ill men of a sinister intent and purpose, whose forwardness is not therefore a bridle to such as favour the same cause with a better and a sincerer meaning? They that seek, as they say, the removing of all popish orders out of the church, and reckon the state of bishops in the number of those orders, do (I doubt not) presume that the cause which they prosecute is holy. Notwithstanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even this very cause which they term so often by an excellency, "The Lord's cause is *gratissima*, most acceptable unto some which hope for prey and spoil by it, and that our age hath of store such, and that such are the very sectaries of Dionysius the famous atheist." Now if hereupon we should upbraid them with irreligious, as they do us with superstitious favourers, if we should follow them in their own kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation are either atheists, or else proctors suborned by atheists; the answer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause in defence of our church-orders to be as good as theirs against them, till the contrary be made manifest to the world.

Eccles. dis. f. 94.

The grief which they say godly brethren conceive in regard of such ceremonies as we have common with the church of Rome. T. C. l. iii. d. 180. There be numbers which have antichristianity in such detestation, that they cannot without grief of mind behold

10. In the meanwhile sorry we are, that any good and godly mind should be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief, lyeth not so much in us as in themselves. They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the church: and to remove all out of the church whereat they shew themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are persuaded, hurtful if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to persuade the contrary, they must and will, I doubt not, find out some other good mean to cheer up themselves. Amongst which means the example of Geneva may serve for one. Have not they the old popish custom of using godfathers and godmothers in baptism? the old popish custom of administering the blessed sacrament of the holy eucharist with wafer-cakes? These things then the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learn to do the like, both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some farther mean peradventure it might be to assuage their grief, if so

be they did consider the revenge they take on them which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in so great grief so long. For if the maintenance of ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them; undoubtedly to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves martyrs when they are grieved, should think withal what they are whom they grieve. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who have stood for truth and who for error. So that till then the most effectual medicine, and withal the most sound, to ease their grief, must not be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieved; but the altering of that persuasion which they have concerning the same. For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more because we are also persuaded, that it is but conceit in them to think that those Romish ceremonies whereof we have hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious to the church; or like soft and gentle poisons, the venom whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death and yet is never felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only, and the world hath not as yet had so great experience of their art in curing the diseases of the church, that the bare authority of their word should persuade in a cause so weighty, they may not think much if it be required at their hands to shew; first, by what means so deadly infection can grow from similitude between us and the church of Rome in these things indifferent: secondly, for that it were infinite, if the church should provide against every such evil as may come to pass, it is not sufficient that they shew possibility of dangerous event, unless there appear some likelihood also of the same to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unless it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and sufficient way of prevention but by evacuating clean, and by emptying the church of every such rite and ceremony as is presently called in question. Till this be done, their good affection towards the safety of the church is acceptable, but the way they prescribe us to preserve it by, must rest in

them. And afterward, such godly brethren are not easily to be grieved, which they seem to be, when they are thus martyred in their minds for ceremonies, which (to speak the best of them) are unprofitable.

[a] Although the corruptions in them strike not straight to the heart, yet as gentle poisons they consume by little and little. T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

suspense. And lest hereat they take occasion to turn upon us the speech of the prophet Jeremy, used against Babylon, "Behold we have done our endeavour to cure the diseases of Babylon, but she through her wilfulness doth rest uncured:" let them consider into what straits the church might drive itself in being guided by this their counsel. Their axiom is, that the sound believing church of Jesus Christ may not be like heretical churches in any of those indifferent things which men make choice of, and do not take by prescript appointment of the word of God. In the word of God the use of bread is prescribed as a thing without which the eucharist may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of itself, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened bread in their sacrament, because such bread the church of Rome, being heretical, useth. But doth not the self-same axiom bar us even from leavened bread also, which the church of the Grecians useth, the opinions whereof are in a number of things the same for which we condemn the church of Rome: and in some things erroneous, where the church of Rome is acknowledged to be sound; as namely, in the article of the Holy Ghost's proceeding? And lest here they should say, that because the Greek church is farther off and the church of Rome nearer, we are in that respect rather to use that which the church of Rome useth not; let them imagine a reformed church in the city of Venice, where a Greek church and popish both are: and when both those are equally near, let them consider what the third shall do. Without leavened or unleavened bread it can have no sacrament; the word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this constrain them, as it must, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place save in those things only where the church hath larger scope; it resteth, that they search out some stronger reason than they have as yet alleged; otherwise they constrain not us to think that the church is tied unto any such rule or axiom, not then when she hath the widest field to walk in and the greater store of choice.

Jer. li. 9.

Their exception against such ceremonies as we have received from

11. Against such ceremonies generally as are the same in the church of England and of Rome, we see what hath been hitherto alleged. Albeit, we do not find the one church's therefore having of such things to be sufficient cause why the other

should not have them; nevertheless, in case it may be proved, that amongst the number of rites and orders common unto both, there are particulars the use whereof is utterly unlawful, in regard of some special bad and noisome quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquish such rites and orders, what freedom soever we have to retain the other still. As therefore we have heard their general exception against all those things, which, being not commanded in the word of God, were first received in the church of Rome, and from thence have been derived into ours, so it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted against, not only for that they are in the church of Rome, but are besides either Jewish or abused unto idolatry and so grown scandalous. The church of Rome, they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the gospel, did almost out of all religions take whatsoever had any fair and gorgeous show,[a] borrowing in that respect from the Jews sundry of their abolished ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation all their massing furniture almost they took from the law, lest having an altar and a priest they should want vestments for their stage; so that, whatsoever we have in common with the church of Rome, if the same be of this kind, we ought to remove it. Constantine the emperor, speaking of the keeping of the feast of Easter, saith, "That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spiteful company of the Jews." And a little after he saith, "That it is most absurd and against reason, that the Jews should vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keep those things without their doctrine." And in another place it is said after this sort; "It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that nation." The council of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the sixth general council, decreed, "That the Christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety." For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must be considered; namely, the causes wherefore the church should decline from Jewish ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is, that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest enemies of Christ-

the chur of Rome that chu having ta them fro the Jew

T. C. l. i. p. 132.

Euseb. l. iii. c. 1 Socrat. l. i. c. 9.

To. i. Concil. Laod. Ca 38.

[a] Many of these popish ceremonies faulty by reason of the pomp in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified. Eccles. Disc. fol. 98. and T. C. l. iii. p. 181.

ianity that were in the world, and in this respect their orders so far forth to be shunned as we have already set down in handling the matter of heathenish ceremonies. For no enemies being so venomous against Christ as Jews, they were of all other most odious, and by that mean, least to be used as fit church-patterns for imitation. Another cause is, the solemn abrogation of the Jews' ordinances: which ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disannulled them. But how far this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the church should frame itself to the Jews' example in respect of their persons which are most hateful; yet God himself having been the author of their laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear. Jewish ordinances had some things natural, and of the perpetuity of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive, we likewise know to have been, by the coming of Christ, partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind, circumcision and sacrifice were. For this point Stephen was accused, and the evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgment was, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law; for we have heard him say, That this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the ordinances that Moses gave us." True it is, that this doctrine was then taught, which unbelievers condemning for blasphemy, did therein commit that which they did condemn. The apostles notwithstanding, from whom Stephen had received it, did not so teach the abrogation, no, not of those things which were necessarily to cease, but that even the Jews being Christians, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in Jerusalem the first Christian bishop not circumcised was Mark; and he not bishop till the days of Adrian the emperor, after the overthrow of Jerusalem; there having been fifteen bishops before him which were all of the circumcision. The Christian Jews did think at the first, not only themselves, but the Christian gentiles also bound, and that necessarily, to observe the whole law. There went forth certain of the sect of pharisees which did believe; and they

Acts vi. 13, 14.

Vide Nicephor. lib. iii. cap. 25. et Sulpit. Sever. p. 149. in edit. Plant.

coming unto Antioch taught, that it was necessary for the gentiles to be circumcised and to keep the law of Moses. Whereupon there grew dissension, Paul and Barnabas disputing against them. The determination of the council held at Jerusalem concerning this matter, was finally this; "Touching the gentiles which believe, we have written and determined, that they observe no such thing:" their protestation by letters is, "Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which departed from us, have troubled you with words, and cumbered your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep the law; know, that we gave them no such commandment." Paul therefore continued still teaching the gentiles, not only that they were not bound to observe the laws of Moses, but that the observation of those laws, which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point, his doctrine was misreported, as though he had every where preached this not only concerning the gentiles but also touching the Jews. Wherefore coming unto James and the rest of the clergy at Jerusalem, they told him plainly of it, saying, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are amongst the gentiles, to forsake Moses, and sayest, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to live after the customs." And hereupon they give him counsel to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were untrue, and that himself being a Jew kept the law, even as they did. In some things therefore we see the apostles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity between the Christian Jews and gentiles. How many things this law of unconformity did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This general is true, that the gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was necessarily to cease at the coming of Christ. Touching things positive, which might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the apostles, tendering the zeal of the Jews, thought it necessary to bind even the gentiles for a time to abstain as the Jews did from things offered unto idols, from blood, from things strangled. These decrees were every where delivered unto the gentiles to be straitly observed and kept. In the other matters the gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion still tied: the apostles'

Acts xv.

Acts xxi. 25.

Acts xv. 24.

Acts xxi. 20.

Acts xv. 28.

Acts xvi. 4.

Rom. xiv. 10. doctrine unto the Jews was, "Condemn not the gentile;" unto the gentile, "Despise not the Jews." The one sort, they warned to take heed that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous in giving unadvised sentence against their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous by abusing their liberty and freedom to the offence of their weak brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therefore, two conclusions there are which may evidently be drawn; the first, that whatsoever conformity of positive laws the apostles did bring in between the churches of Jews and gentiles, it was in those things only which might either cease or continue a shorter or longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, that they did not impose upon the churches of the gentiles any part of the Jews' ordinances with bond of necessary and perpetual observation (as we all, both by doctrine and practice, acknowledge), but only in respect of the conveniency and fitness for the present state of the church, as then it stood. The words of the council's decree, concerning the gentiles, are, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no more burden, saving only these things of necessity; abstinence from idol-offerings, from things strangled, and blood, and from fornication." So that in other things positive, which the coming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish, the gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to seem unreasonable, that the gentiles should necessarily be bound and tied to Jewish ordinances so far forth as that decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew that their difference from other nations, which were aliens and strangers from God, did especially consist in this, that God's people had positive ordinances given to them of God himself; it seemeth marvellous hard, that the Christian gentiles should be incorporated into the same commonwealth with God's own chosen people, and be subject to no part of his statutes, more than only the law of nature, which heathens count themselves bound unto. It was an opinion constantly received amongst the Jews, that God did deliver unto the sons of Noah seven precepts: namely, to live in some form of regiment under, first, public laws: secondly, to serve and call upon the name of God: thirdly, to shun

[a] Lib. qui Seder Olam inscribitur.

1 ניצוץ 2 ברכתהשם 3 עא 4 שפיכות דמים 5 גילי עריות 6 תגול 7 אבר מן חי.

idolatry: fourthly, not to suffer effusion of the blood: fifthly, to abhor all unclean knowledge in the flesh: sixthly, to commit no rapine: seventhly, and finally, not to eat of any living creature, whereof the blood was not first let out. If therefore the gentiles would be exempted from the law of Moses, yet it might seem hard they should also cast off even those things positive which were observed before Moses, and which were not of the same kind with laws that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon the council saw it expedient to determine, that the gentiles should, according unto the third, the seventh, and the fifth, of those precepts, abstain from things sacrificed unto idols, from things strangled, and blood, and from fornication. The rest, the gentiles did of their own accord observe, nature leading them thereto. And did not nature also teach them to abstain from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason think, that as the former two are positive; so likewise this, being meant as the apostle doth otherwise usually understand it. But very marriage within a number of degrees being not only by the law of Moses, but also by the law of the sons of Noah (for so they took it), an unlawful discovery of nakedness; this discovery of nakedness by unlawful marriages, such as Moses in the law reckoneth up, I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the words of that canon, than fornication according unto the sense of the law of nature. Words must be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The apostles command to abstain from blood. Construe this according to the law of nature, and it will seem that homicide only is forbidden. But construe it in reference to the law of the Jews, about which the question was, and it shall easily appear to have a clean other sense, and in any man's judgment a truer, when we expound it of eating and not of shedding blood: so if we speak of fornication, he that knoweth no law but only the law of nature, must needs make thereof a narrower construction, than he which measureth the same by a law wherein sundry kinds even of conjugal copulation are prohibited as impure, unclean, unhonest. St. Paul himself doth term incestuous marriage fornication. If any do rather think, that the Christian gentiles themselves, through the loose and corrupt customs of those times, took simple fornication for no sin, and were in that respect offensive unto

Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. v. 11. Gal. v. 19.

Lev. xviii.

1 Cor. v. 1.

believing Jews, which by the law had been better taught, our proposing of another conjecture is unto theirs no prejudice. Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Jews; some things wherein they were commanded not to be unlike. Again, some things also there were, wherein no law of God did let but that they might be either like or unlike, as occasion should require. And unto this purpose Leo saith, "Apostolical ordinance (beloved), knowing that our Lord Jesus Christ came not into this world to undo the law, hath in such sort distinguished the mysteries of the Old Testament, that certain of them it hath chosen out to benefit evangelical knowledge withal, and for that purpose appointed that those things which before were Jewish, might now be Christian customs." The cause why the apostles did thus conform the Christians as much as might be according to the pattern of the Jews, was to rein them in by this mean the more, and to make them cleave the better. The church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing as about Judaism: some having thought the whole Jewish law wicked and damnable in itself; some, not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it, either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or farther unlawful to be observed than truth can bear; some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observation of the law of Moses necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the apostles' times; some as heretics, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the church at Jerusalem; finally, some being herein resolute through mere infidelity and with open professed enmity against Christ, as unbelieving Jews. To control slanderers of the law and prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the church in her liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the New Testament lessons taken out of the law and prophets; whereunto Tertullian alluding, saith of the church of Christ, "It intermingleth with evangelical and apostolical writings the law and the prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that faith which with water it sealeth, clotheth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the eucharist, with martyrdom setteth forward." They would have wondered in those times to hear that any man being not a favourer of heresy, should term this by the way of dis-

Leo in Jeun. Mens. Sept. Ser. x.

Tertul. de præscript. advers. hæret.

dain, "mangling of the Gospels and Epistles."[a] They which honour the law as an image of the wisdom of God himself, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the law so abolished with Christ, that after his ascension the office of priests became immediately wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exercise of an ungodly function?[b] No, as long as the glory of the temple continued, until the time of that final desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Jews did continue with their sacrifices and other parts of legal service. That very law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish, did not so soon become unlawful to be observed as some imagine; nor was it afterward unlawful so far, that the very name of altar, of priests, of sacrifice itself, should be banished out of the world. For though God do now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had but with impiety; yet unless there be some greater let than the only evacuation of the law of Moses, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion, which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the ancient fathers, we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use; and are so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter, is accomplished in the truth. And as no man can deprive the church of this liberty, to use names whereunto the law was accustomed; so neither are we generally forbidden the use of things which the law hath, though it neither commands us any particularity, as it did the Jews a number; and the weightiest which it did command them are unto us in the gospel prohibited. Touching such as, through simplicity of error, did urge universal and perpetual observation of the law of Moses at the first, we have spoken already. Against Jewish heretics and false apostles teaching afterward the self-same, St. Paul in every epistle commonly either disputeth or giveth warning. Jews that were zeal-

[a] What an abusing also is it to affirm, the mangling of the Gospels and Epistles to have been brought into the church by godly and learned men! T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

[b] Seeing that the office and function of priests was after our Saviour Christ's ascension naught and ungodly; the name whereby they were called, which did exercise that ungodly function, cannot be otherwise taken than in the evil part. T. C. l. i. p. 216.

ous for the law, but withal infidels in respect of Christianity, and to the name of Jesus Christ most spiteful enemies, did, while they flourished, no less persecute the church than heathens; and after their estate was overthrown, they were not that way so much to be feared. Howbeit, because they had their synagogues in every famous city almost throughout the world, and by that means great opportunity to withdraw from the Christian faith, which to do they spared no labour; this gave the church occasion to make sundry laws against them. As, in the council of Laodicea, "The festival presents which Jews or heretics used to send, must not be received, nor holidays solemnized in their company." Again, "From the Jews, men ought not to receive their unleavened [bread], nor to communicate with their impieties." Which council was afterward indeed confirmed by the sixth general council. But what was the true sense or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Christians here forbidden to communicate in unleavened bread because the Jews did so, being enemies of the church? He which attentively shall weigh the words, will suspect that they rather forbid communion with Jews than imitation of them; much more, if with these two decrees be compared a third in the council of Constantinople: "Let no man, either of the clergy or laity, eat the unleavened of the Jews, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor send for them in sickness, nor take physic at their hands, nor as much as go into the bath with them. If any do otherwise, being a clergyman, let him be deposed; if being a lay-person, let excommunication be his punishment." If these canons were any argument, that they which made them did utterly condemn similitude between the Christians and Jews in things indifferent appertaining unto religion, either because the Jews were enemies unto the church, or else for that their ceremonies were abrogated; these reasons had been as strong and effectual against their keeping the feast of Easter on the same day the Jews kept theirs, and not according to the custom of the west church. For so they did from the first beginning till Constantine's time. For in these two things the east and west churches did interchangeably both confront the Jews and concur with them; the west church using unleavened bread, as the Jews in their Passover did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the feast of Easter; contrariwise, the east church

Con. Laod. Can. 37, 38.
Ib. C. lib. i. c. 132.
Ib. C. lib. iii. c. 176.
Con. Constantinop. vi. cap. 11.

celebrating the feast of Easter on the same day with the Jews, but not using the same kind of bread which they did. Now, if so be the east church in using leavened bread had done well, either for that the Jews were enemies to the church, or because Jewish ceremonies were abrogated; how should we think but that Victor the bishop of Rome (whom alljudicious men do in that behalf disallow) did well to be so vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like dissimilitude for the feast of Easter? Again, if the west churches had in either of those two respects affected dissimilitude with the Jews in the feast of Easter, what reason had they to draw the eastern church here unto them, which reason did not enforce them to frame themselves unto it in the ceremony of leavened bread? Difference in rites should breed no controversy between one church and another; but if controversy be once bred, it must be ended. The feast of Easter being therefore litigious in the days of Constantine, who honoured of all other churches most the church of Rome; which church was the mother, from whose breasts he had drawn that food which gave him nourishment to eternal life; sith agreement was necessary, and yet impossible, unless the one part were yielded unto; his desire was that of the two, the eastern church should rather yield. And to this end he useth sundry persuasive speeches. When Stephen bishop of Rome, going about to shew what the catholic church should do, had alleged what the heretics themselves did, namely, that they received such as came unto them, and offered not to baptize them anew; St. Cyprian being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in question, which was, Whether heretics converted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no? answered the allegation of Pope Stephen with exceeding great stomach, saying, "To this degree of wretchedness the church of God and spouse of Christ is now come, that her ways she frameth to the example of heretics; that to celebrate the sacraments, which heavenly instruction hath delivered, light itself doth borrow from darkness, and Christians do that which antichrists do." Now, albeit Constantine have done that to farther a better cause, which Cyprian did to countenance a worse, namely, the rebaptization of heretics, and have taken advantage of the odiousness of the Jews, as Cyprian of heretics, because the eastern church kept their feast of Easter always the fourteenth day of the month, as

Cypr. ad Pomp. lib. cont. Stephani.

the Jews did, what day of the week soever it fell; or howsoever Constantine did take occasion in the handling of that cause, to say, "It is unworthy to have any thing common with that spiteful nation of the Jews;"[a] shall every motive or argument used in such kind of conferences, be made a rule for others still to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations suitable unto it cease to bark any longer idly against that truth, the course and passage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

Their exception against such ceremonies as have been abused by the church of Rome, and are said in that respect to be scandalous.

12. But the weightiest exception, and of all the most worthy to be respected, is against such kind of ceremonies, as have been so grossly and shamefully abused in the church of Rome, that where they remain they are scandalous, yea, they cannot choose but be stumbling-blocks, and grievous causes of offence. Concerning this point, therefore, we are first to note, what properly it is to be scandalous or offensive. Secondly, what kind of ceremonies are such. And thirdly, when they are necessarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceit of the vulgar sort is, whensoever they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to think that every such thing is scandalous, and that themselves in this case are the men concerning whom our Saviour spake in so fearful a manner, saying, "Whosoever shall scandalize or offend any one of these little ones which believe in me (that is, as they construe it, Whosoever shall anger the meanest and simplest artisan which carrieth a good mind, by not removing out of the church such rites and ceremonies as displease him), better he were drowned in the bottom of the sea." But hard were the case of the church of Christ, if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when

Matt. xviii. 6.

[a] Plerique in Asia minore antiquitus 14. die mensis, nulla ratione diei sabbati habita, hoc festum observarunt. Quod dum faciebant cum aliis, qui aliam rationem in eodem festo agendo sequebantur, usque eo nequaquam dissenserunt, quoad Victor, episcopus Romanus, supra modum iracundia inflammatus, omnes in Asia qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτται appellati, excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum, Irenæus, episcopus Lugduni, in Victorem per epistolam graviter invectus est. Socr. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. v. c. 21.—Quid præstabilius, quidve augustius esse poterat, quam ut hoc festum, per quod spem immortalitatis nobis ostentatam habemus, uno modo et ratione apud omnes integre sincereque observaretur? Ac primum omnium dignum plane videbatur, utritum et consuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui, quoniam suas ipsorum manus immani scelere polluerunt, merito, ut scelestos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) istud festum sanctissimum ageremus. In nostra enim situm est potestate, ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis sincero instituto (quod quidem usque a prima passionis die hactenus recoluimus) hujus festi celebrationem ad posterorum seculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur sit nobis cum Judæorum *turba*, omnium odiosa maxime. Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 17.

they are moved, led and provoked unto sin. At good things evil men may take occasion to do evil; and so Christ himself was a rock of offence in Israel, they taking occasion at his poor estate and at the ignominy of his cross to think him unworthy of the name of that great and glorious Messiah, whom the prophets describe in such ample and stately terms. But that which we therefore term offensive, because it inviteth men to offend, and by a dumb kind of provocation, encourageth, moveth, or any way leadeth unto sin, must of necessity be acknowledged actively scandalous. Now, some things are so even by their very essence and nature, so that wheresoever they be found they are not, neither can be without this force of provocation unto evil; of which kind all examples of sin and wickedness are. Thus David was scandalous in that bloody act whereby he caused the enemies of God to be blasphemous: thus the whole state of Israel was scandalous, when their public disorders caused the name of God to be ill-spoken of amongst the nations. It is of this kind that Tertullian meaneth: "Offence or scandal, if I be not deceived (saith he), is when the example not of a good but of an evil thing doth set men forward unto sin. Good things can scandalize none, save only evil minds:" Good things have no scandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of its own nature either good, or at least not evil, may by some accident become scandalous at certain times, and in certain places, and to certain men; the open use thereof, nevertheless, being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some rites and ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did use, and is in all such as the law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive only through the agreement of men to use them unto evil, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the heathens did to the service of their false gods; which another, in heart condemning their idolatry, could not do with them in show and token of approbation without being guilty of scandal given. Ceremonies of this kind, are either devised at the first unto evil; as the Eunomian heretics in dishonour of the blessed Trinity brought in the laying on of water but once, to cross the custom of the church which in baptism did it thrice: or else having had a profitable use, they are afterward interpreted and wrested to the contrary; as those heretics which held the Trinity to be three distinct, not

1 Pet. ii. 8.

2 Sam. xii. 14.

Rom. ii. 24. Ezek. xxxvi. 20.

Tertul. lib. de Virgin. Veland.

persons, but natures, abused the ceremony of three times laying on water in baptism, unto the strengthening of their heresy. The element of water is in baptism necessary; once to lay it on, or twice, is indifferent. For which cause Gregory making mention thereof, saith, "To dive an infant either thrice or but once in baptism, can be no way a thing reprovable; seeing that both in three times washing, the trinity of persons, and in one the unity of the Godhead, may be signified." So that of these two ceremonies, neither being hurtful in itself, both may serve unto good purpose, yet one was devised and the other converted unto evil. Now, whereas in the church of Rome certain ceremonies are said to have been shamefully abused unto evil, as the ceremony of crossing at baptism, of kneeling at the eucharist, of using wafer-cakes, and such-like; the question is, whether for remedy of that evil wherein such ceremonies have been scandalous, and perhaps may be still unto some even amongst ourselves, whom the presence and sight of them may confirm in that former error whereto they served in times past, they are of necessity to be removed. Are these, or any other ceremonies we have common with the church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any such as have been polluted from their very birth, and instituted, even at the first, unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiously at the first, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then, what doth let but that the use thereof may stand without offence? The names of our months and of our days, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonour unto God they are said to have been devised at the first.[a] What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, than that which sometime the ancient fathers in this case speak? Yet those very names are at this day in use throughout Christendom without hurt or scandal to any. Clear and manifest it is, that things devised by heretics, yea, devised of a very here-

Epist. ad Leandrum. Hisp.

[a] Hom. xi. de Pasch. Idololatriæ consuetudo in tantum homines occæcaverat, ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, et diversis elementorum ac dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, et luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent. Beda de ratione temp. cap. iv.—Octavus dies idem primus est, ad quem reditur, indeque rursus hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina a planetis gentilitas indidit, habere se credentes a Sole spiritum, a Luna corpus, a Marte sanguinem, a Mercurio ingenium et linguam, a Jove temperantiam, a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem. Isid. Hisp. lib. v. Etymol. cap. 30. Dies dicti a diis, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam sideribus sacraverunt.

tical purpose, even against religion, and at their first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that custom, the inventors whereof were the Eunomian heretics. So that customs once established and confirmed by long use being presently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held scandalous. But concerning those our ceremonies which they reckon for most popish, they are not able to avouch that any of them was otherwise instituted than unto good; yea, so used at the first. It followeth then, that they all are such as having served to good purpose, were afterward converted unto the contrary. And sith it is not so much as objected against us, that we retain together with them the evil wherewith they have been infected in the church of Rome; I would demand, who they are whom we scandalize, by using harmless things unto that good end for which they were first instituted. Amongst ourselves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good use, no man will say, that one of us is offensive or scandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the church of Rome, they know how far we herein differ and dissent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their public writings also profess daily how much it grieveth them. So that of them there will not many rise up against us, as witnesses unto the indictment of scandal whereby we might be condemned and cast, as having strengthened them in that evil wherewith they pollute themselves in the use of the same ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the church of England herein, and hate it because it doth not sufficiently seem to hate Rome; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kind of popish error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are scandalous through the use of abused ceremonies, is not so apparent, that it can justly be said in general of any one sort of men or other, we cause them to offend. If it be so, that now and then some few are espied who, having been accustomed heretofore to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, are not so scoured of their former rust as to forsake their ancient persuasion which they have had, howsoever they frame themselves to outward obedience of laws and orders; because such may misconstrue the meaning of our ceremonies, and so take them, as though they were in every sort the same they have been, shall this be thought a reason sufficient

whereon to conclude that some law must necessarily be made to abolish all such ceremonies? They answer, that there is no law of God which doth bind us to retain them. And St. Paul's rule is, that in those things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstain, we should frame the usage of our liberty, with regard to the weakness and imbecility of our brethren. Wherefore unto them which stood upon their own defence, saying, "All things are lawful unto me;" he replieth, "but all things are not expedient" in regard of others. All things are clean, all meats are lawful; but evil unto that man that eateth offensively. If for thy meat's sake thy brother be grieved, thou walkest no longer according to charity. Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died. Dissolve not for food's sake the work of God. We that are strong, must bear the imbecility of the impotent, and not please ourselves. It was a weakness in the Christian Jews, and a maim of judgment in them, that they thought the gentiles polluted by the eating of those meats which themselves were afraid to touch for fear of transgressing the law of Moses; yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the apostle had just cause to fear lest they would rather forsake Christianity than endure any fellowship with such as made no conscience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cause mention is made of destroying the weak by meats, and of dissolving the work of God which was his church, a part of the living stones whereof were believing Jews. Now those weak brethren beforementioned are said to be as the Jews were, and our ceremonies which have been abused in the church of Rome, to be as the scandalous meats, from which the gentiles are exhorted to abstain in the presence of Jews for fear of averting them from Christian faith. Therefore, as charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethren's sake, which otherwise was lawful enough for them; so it bindeth us for our brethren's sake likewise to abolish such ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retain them. But between these two cases there are great odds. For neither are our weak brethren as the Jews, nor the ceremonies which we useas the meats which the gentiles used. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that respect; whereas contrariwise the imbecility of ours is not common unto so many, that we can take any such certain notice of *them.* It is a chanceif here and there some one be found;

1 Cor. vi. 12.

Rom. xiv. xv. 1.

and therefore, seeing we may presume men commonly otherwise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame it self by that which the apostle doth prescribe to the gentiles. Again, their use of meats was not like unto our ceremonies; that being a matter of private action in common life; where every man was free to order that which himself did; but this a public constitution for the ordering of the church: and we are not to look that thechurch should change her public laws and ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although it chance that for some particular men the same be found inconvenient, especially when there may be other remedy also against the sores of particular inconveniences. In this case therefore, where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject instruction, as being an unmeet plaster to apply unto it; neither can we say, that he which appointeth teachers for the physicians in this kind of evil, is, "as if a man would set one to watch a child all day long lest he should hurt himself with a knife, whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the service of the man better employed." For a knife may be taken from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have years and discretion to use it. But the ceremonies which children do abuse, if we remove quite and clean, as it is by some required that we should: then are they not taken from children only, but from others also: which is as though because children may perhaps hurt themselves with knives, we should conclude, that therefore the use of knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men also. Those particular ceremonies which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next book have occasion more thoroughly to sift, where other things also, traduced in the public duties of the church whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as have at any time been brought either against the one or the other. In the meanwhile, against the conveniency of curing such evils by instruction, strange it is, that they should object the multitude of other necessary matters wherein preachers may better bestow their time, than in giving men warning not to abuse ceremonies.[a] A wonder it is, that they should object

Harmonop. lib. i. tit. 1. sect. 28.

T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

[a] It is not so convenient that the minister, having so many necessary points to bestow his time in, should be driven to spend it in giving warning of not abusing them, of which (although they were used to the best) there is no profit. T. C. l. iii. p. 177.

this, which have so many years together troubled the church with quarrels concerning these things; and are even to this very hour so earnest in them, that if they write or speak publicly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the church of England, in respect of abused ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole church, if they which have raised contention therein, about the abuse of rites and ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deal for teachers to spend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement asseverations more than through any such experience which we have had of our own, that we are enforced to think it possible for one or other, now and then at leastwise, in the prime of the reformation of our church, to have stumbled at some kind of ceremonies. Wherein, forasmuch as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; sith also, they farther pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their souls that are at any time taken therein; they must give our teachers leave for the saving of those souls (be they never so few), to intermingle sometime with other more necessary things, admonition concerning these not unnecessary. Wherein they should in reason more easily yield this leave, considering that hereunto we shall not need to use the hundredth part of that time, which themselves think very needful to bestow in making most bitter invectives against the ceremonies of the church.

Our ceremonies excepted against, for that some churches, reformed before ours, have cast out those things, which we, notwithstanding their example to the contrary, do retain still.

13. But to come to the last point of all; the church of England is grievously charged with forgetfulness of her duty, which duty had been to frame herself unto the pattern of their example that went before her in the work of reformation. [a]"For as the churches of Christ ought to be most unlike the synagogue of antichrist in their indifferent ceremonies; so they ought to be most like one unto another, and for preservation of unity, to have as much as possible may be all the same ceremonies. And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the sabbath (which is our Sunday), allegeth this for a reason,[b] That he had so ordained in other churches." Again, "As children of one Father, and servants of one family; so all churches should not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but also wear, as it were, one livery in using the same ceremonies."

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 133.
[b] 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

Thirdly, "This rule did the great council of Nice follow,[a] when it ordained, that where certain at the feast of Pentecost did pray kneeling, they should pray standing: the reason whereof is added, which is, That one custom ought to be kept throughout all churches. It is true, that the diversity of ceremonies ought not to cause the churches to dissent one with another: but yet it maketh most to the avoiding of dissension, that there be amongst them a unity, not only in doctrine, but also in ceremonies. And therefore our form of service is to be amended, not only for that it cometh too near that of the papists, but also because it is so different from that of the reformed churches." Being asked to what churches ours should conform itself, and why other reformed churches should not as well frame themselves to ours, their answer is, "That if there be any ceremonies which we have better than others, they ought to frame themselves to us; if they have better than we, then we ought to frame ourselves to them: if the ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter churches should conform themselves to the first, as the younger daughter to the elder. For as St. Paul in the members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honour above the rest, that one is called before another to the gospel; so is it, for the same cause, amongst the churches. And in this respect he pincheth the Corinths, that not being the first which received the gospel, yet they would have their several manners from other churches. Moreover, where the ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themselves unto the more. Forasmuch, therefore, as all the churches (so far as they know which plead after this manner) of our confession in doctrine, agree in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault that doth not conform herself in that, which she cannot deny to be well abrogated." In this axiom, that preservation of peace and unity amongst Christian churches should be by all good means procured, we join most willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that, to the avoiding of dissension, it availeth much, that there be amongst them a unity as well in ceremonies as in doctrine. The

T. C. l. 1. p. 182, 183.

Rom. xvi. 5. 7.

1 Cor. xiv. 37.

[a] The canon of that council which is here cited doth provide against kneeling at prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after Easter, on any day, and not at the feast of Pentecost only. Can. 20.

only doubt is, about the manner of their unity; how far churches are bound to be uniform in their ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpose. Touching the one, the rule which they have set down is, that in ceremonies indifferent, all churches ought to be one of them unto another as like as possibly they may be. Which *possibly* we cannot otherwise construe, than that it doth require them to be, even as like as they may be without breaking any positive ordinance of God. For the ceremonies whereof we speak, being matter of positive law, they are indifferent, if God have neither himself commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the church's discretion: so that if as great uniformity be required as is possible in these things, seeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greatest unto the least, they must be in every Christian church the same, except mere impossibility of so having it be the hinderance. To us this opinion seemeth over extreme and violent: we rather incline to think it a just and reasonable cause for any church, the state whereof is free and independent, if in these things it differ from other churches only for that it doth not judge it so fit and expedient to be framed therein by the pattern of their example, as to be otherwise framed than they. That of Gregory unto Leander, is a charitable speech, and a peaceable; "In una fide nil officit ecclesiæ sanctæ consuetudo diversa.—Where the faith of the holy church is one, a difference in customs of the church doth no harm." That of St. Augustine to Cassulanus is somewhat particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremonies they are, wherein one church may vary from the example of another without hurt: "Let the faith of the whole church, how wide soever it hath spread itself, be always one, although the unity of belief be famous for variety of certain ordinances, whereby that which is rightly believed suffer-
Respon. ad Med. eth no kind of let or impediment." Calvin goeth farther, "As concerning rites in particular, let the sentence of Augustine take place, which leaveth it free unto all churches to receive their own custom. Yea, sometime it profiteth, and is expedient that there be difference, lest men should think that religion is tied to outward ceremonies. Always provided, that there be not any emulation, nor that churches delighted with novelty affect to have that which others have not." They which grant it true, That the diversity of ceremonies in this kind

ought not to cause dissension in churches, must either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or, if any thing be granted, there must as much be yielded unto, as we affirm against, their former strict assertion. For, if churches be urged by way of duty, to take such ceremonies as they like not of, how can dissension be avoided? Will they say, that there ought to be no dissension, because such as are urged ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they say this, they say just nothing. For how should any church like to be urged of duty by such as have no authority or power over it, unto those things which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no dissension, because that which churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; and if any man do, he standeth in the sight of both God and men most justly blameable, as a needless disturber of the peace of God's church, and an author of dissension? In saying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they press the church of England with so strict a bond of duty in these things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, That there ought to be in all kind of ceremonies uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it. For proof whereof, it is not enough to allege what St. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what noblemen do in the liveries of their servants, or what the council of Nice did for standing in time of prayer on certain days; because, though St. Paul did will them of the church of Corinth,[a] every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reserve it in store till himself did come thither to send it to the church of Jerusalem for relief of the poor there; signifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the churches of Galatia; yet the reason which he yieldeth of this order taken, both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writhed. "Concerning collection for the saints (he meaneth them of Jerusalem), as I have given order to the church of Galatia, so likewise do ye (saith the apostle); that is, in every first day of the week, let each lay aside by himself, and reserve according to that which God hath blessed 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

[a] And therefore St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of Corinth, that they should make their gatherings for the poor upon the first day of the sabbath (which is our Sunday), allegeth this for a reason, that he had so ordained in other churches. T. C. l. i. p. 133.

him with; that when I come collections be not then to make; and that when I come, whom ye shall choose, them I may forthwith send away by letters, to carry your beneficence unto Jerusalem." Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity throughout all churches, in all manner of indifferent ceremonies, will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over. But perhaps they are by so much the more loath to forsake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture to give it some kind of countenance more than the pretext of livery-coats afforded them.[a] For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his servants with one weed, nor theirs to clothe themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments, as these ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the church. And seeing churches are rather in this case like divers families, than like divers servants of one family, because every church, the state whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for itself in things indifferent; therefore of the two we may rather infer, That as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in friar's-grey for that another doth wear clay-colour, so neither are all churches bound to the self-same indifferent ceremonies which it liketh sundry to use. As for that canon in the council of Nice, let them but read it and weigh it well. The ancient use of the church throughout all Christendom was, for fifty days after Easter (which fifty days were called Pentecost, though most commonly the last day of them, which is Whitsunday, be so called), in like sort on all the Sundays throughout the whole year their manner was to stand at prayer; whereupon their meetings unto that purpose on those days had the name of Stations given them. Of which custom Tertullian speaketh in this wise; "It is not with us thought fit either to fast on the Lord's day, or to pray kneeling. The same immunity from fasting and kneeling we keep all the time which is between the feasts of Easter and Pentecost."[b] This being therefore an order generally received in the church; when some began to be singular and different from all others, and that in a ceremony which was then judged very

[a] So that as children of one Father, and servants of one master, he will have all the churches, not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but also wear, as it were, one livery, in using the same ceremonies. T. C. l. iii. p. 133.

[b] This rule did the great council of Nice follow, &c. Die dominico et per omnem Pentecostem, nec de geniculis adorare, et jejunium solvere, &c. De coro. militis. *T. C. l. i. p.* 133.

convenient for the whole church, even by the whole, those few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the council of Nice thought good to enclose them again with the rest, by a law made in this sort: "Because there are certain which will needs kneel at the time of prayer on the Lord's day, and in the fifty days after Easter; the holy synod judging it meet, that a convenient custom be observed throughout all churches, hath decreed, That standing we make our prayers to the Lord." Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole church doth think convenient for the whole, the same if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrailed again by that general authority, whereunto each particular is subject; and that the spirit of singularity in a few ought to give place unto public judgment: this doth clearly enough appear, but not that all Christian churches are bound in every indifferent ceremony to be uniform; because where the whole church hath not tied the parts unto one and the same thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do as others do, or else otherwise without any breach of duty at all. Concerning those indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good that all Christian churches should be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to pass was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that seeing the law of God doth not prescribe all particular ceremonies which the church of Christ may use, and in so great variety of them as may be found out, it is not possible that the law of nature and reason should direct all churches unto the same things, each deliberating by itself what is most convenient; the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all must needs be the judgment of some judicial authority drawn into one only sentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And because such authority over all churches, is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man; there yet remaineth that which hath been always followed as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole church orderly taken and set down in the assembly of some general council. But to maintain, That all Christian churches ought for unity's sake to be uniform in all ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to pass, must be by mutual imitation, so that where we have better

ceremonies than others, they shall be bound to follow us, and we them, where theirs are better; how should we think it agreeable and consonant to reason? For sith in things of this nature, there is such variety of particular inducements, whereby one church may be led to think that better, which another church led by other inducements judgeth to be worse (for example, the east church did think it better to keep Easter-day after the manner of the Jews, the west church better to do otherwise; the Greek church judgeth it worse to use unleavened bread in the eucharist, the Latin church leavened; one church esteemeth it not so good to receive the eucharist sitting as standing, another church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable motives, as well as on the other): unless they add somewhat else to define more certainly what ceremonies shall stand for best in such sort, that all churches in the world shall know them to be the best, and so know them that there may not remain any question about this point, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto said. They themselves, although resolved in their own judgments what ceremonies are best, foreseeing that such as are addicted unto be not all so clearly and so incomparably best, but others there are, or may be at leastwise, when all things are well considered, as good; know not which way smoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing some more certain rule to be followed for establishment of uniformity in ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equal goodness: and therefore in this case they say, that the latter churches, and the fewer, should conform themselves unto the elder, and the more.[a] Hereupon they conclude, that forasmuch as all the reformed churches (so far as they know) which are of our confession in doctrine, have agreed already in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming herself to those churches, in that which she cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the first churches (and those they account to be the first in this cause which were first reformed) they bring the comparison of younger daughters conforming them-

[a] If the ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter churches should conform themselves to the first, &c. And again, The fewer ought to conform themselves unto the more. T. C. l. iii. p. 183.

selves in attire to the example of their eldest sisters; wherein there is just as much strength of reason, as in the livery-coats beforementioned. St. Paul, they say, noteth it for a mark of special honour, that Epænetus was the first man in all Achaia which did embrace the Christian faith; after the same sort, he toucheth it also as special pre-eminence of Junius and Andronicus, that in Christianity they were his ancients. The Corinthians he pincheth with this demand, "Hath the word of God gone from out of you, or hath it lighted on you alone?" But what of all this? If any man should think that alacrity and forwardness in good things doth add nothing unto men's commendation; the two former speeches of St. Paul might lead him to reform his judgment. In like sort, to take down the stomach of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to set all others to school, there can be nothing more fit than some such words as the apostle's third sentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the church of Corinth to know, that there was no such great odds between them and the rest of their brethren, that they should think themselves to be gold, and the rest to be but copper. He therefore useth speech unto them to this effect: "Men instructed in the knowledge of Jesus Christ there both were before you, and are besides you in the world; ye neither are the fountain from which first, nor yet the river into which alone, the word hath flowed." But although as Epænetus was the first man in all Achaia, so Corinth had been the first church in the whole world, that received Christ; the apostles doth not shew, that in any kind of things indifferent whatsoever this should have made their example a law unto all others. Indeed, the example of sundry churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as having the force of an example only, and not of a law. They are effectual to move any church, unless some greater thing do hinder; but they bind none, no, not though they be many, saving only when they are the major part of a general assembly, and then their voices, being more in number, must oversway their judgments who are fewer, because in such cases the greater half is the whole. But as they stand out single, each of them by itself, their number can purchase them no such authority, that the rest of the churches being fewer should be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquish as good ceremonies as theirs for

Rom. xvi. 5.

1 Cor. xiv. 36.

theirs. Whereas, therefore, it is concluded out of these so weak premises, that the retaining of divers things in the church of England, which other reformed churches have cast out, must needs argue that we do not well, unless we can shew that they have done ill;[a] what needed this wrest to draw out from us an accusation of foreign churches? It is not proved as yet, that if they have done well, our duty is to follow them; and to forsake our own course, because it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alleged for confirmation hereof had been sound, yet seeing they lead no farther than only to shew, that where we can have no better ceremonies, theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modesty think themselves to have found out absolutely the best which the wit of men may devise; so, liking their own somewhat better than other men's, even because they are their own, they must in equity allow us to be like unto them in this affection: which if they do, they ease us of that uncourteous burden, whereby we are charged, either to condemn them, or else to follow them. They grant we need not follow them if our own ways already be better. And if our own be but equal, the law of common indulgence alloweth us to think them, at the least, half a thought better because they are our own; which we may very well do, and never draw any indictment at all against theirs, but think commendably even of them also.

A declaration of the proceedings of the church of England, for establishment of things as they are.

14. To leave reformed churches therefore, and their actions, for him to judge of in whose sight they are as they are; and our desire is, that they may even in his sight be found such, as we ought to endeavour by all means that our own may likewise be: somewhat we are enforced to speak by way of simple declaration concerning the proceedings of the church of England in these affairs, to the end that men whose minds are free from those partial constructions, whereby the only name of difference from some other churches is thought cause sufficient to condemn ours, may the better discern whether that we have done be reasonable, yea or no. The church of England being to alter her received laws concerning such orders, rites and ceremonies, as had been in former

[a] Our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault, that doth not conform herself in that which she cannot deny to be well abrogated. T. C. l. iii. p. 183.

times a hinderance unto piety and religious service of God, was to enter into consideration first, that the change of laws, especially concerning matter of religion, must be warily proceeded in. Laws, as all other things human, are many times full of imperfection; and that which is supposed behoveful unto men, proveth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom which is learned by tract of time, findeth the laws that have been in former ages established, needful in latter to be abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient doth not always so continue; and the number of needless laws unabolished doth weaken the force of them that are necessary. But true withal it is, that alteration, though it be from worse to better, hath in it inconveniences, and those weighty; unless it be in such laws as have been made upon special occasions, which occasions ceasing, laws of that kind do abrogate themselves. But when we abrogate a law, as being ill made, the whole cause for which it was made still remaining, do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid ourselves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it, with oversight and with error? Farther, if it be a law which the custom and continual practice of many ages or years hath confirmed in the minds of men; to alter it must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt whether any thing be, in itself, by nature, either good or evil; and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even those things disproved, disannulled, rejected, which use had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and observation of laws, but the weight of so many men's judgments as have with deliberate advice assented thereunto; the weight of that long experience which the world hath had thereof with consent and good liking? So that to change any such law, must needs with the common sort impair and weaken the force of those grounds whereby all laws are made effectual. Notwithstanding, we do not deny alteration of laws to be sometimes a thing necessary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwise hurtful unto the public community of men, and against that good for which human societies were instituted. When the apostles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the laws of heathenish religion received throughout the whole world, chosen, I grant, they were (Paul excepted), the

rest ignorant, poor, simple, unschooled altogether, and unlettered men; howbeit, extraordinarily endued with ghostly wisdom from above, before they ever undertook this enterprise; yea, their authority confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainly appear that they were the Lord's ambassadors, unto whose sovereign power for all flesh to stoop, for all the kingdoms of the earth to yield themselves willingly conformable in whatsoever should be required, it was their duty. In this case, therefore, their oppositions in maintenance of public superstition against apostolic endeavours, as that they might not condemn the ways of their ancient predecessors, that they must keep *religiones traditas*, the rights which from age to age had descended, that the ceremonies of religion had been ever accounted by so much holier as elder; these and the like allegations, in this case, were vain and frivolous. Not to stay longer, therefore, in speech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of such laws as have been specified is necessary, so the evidence that they are such must be great. If we have neither voice from heaven that so pronounceth of them; neither sentence of men grounded upon such manifest and clear proof, that they in whose hands it is to alter them, may likewise infallibly even in heart and conscience judge them so; upon necessity to urge alteration, is to trouble and disturb without necessity. As for arbitrary alterations, when laws of themselves not simply bad or unmeet, are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better devised be but small, sith the custom of easiness to alter and change is so evil, no doubt, but to bear a tolerable sore, is better than to venture on a dangerous remedy: which being generally thought upon as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprise, whereas change was notwithstanding concluded necessary in regard of the great hurt which the church did receive by a number of things then in use, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was now to be taken away and removed out of the church; yet sith there are divers ways of abrogating things established, they saw it best to cut off presently such things as might in that sort be extinguished without danger, leaving the rest to be abolished by disusage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation; so touching the stint or measure thereof, rites and ceremonies and other external things of like nature being hurtful unto

the church, either in respect of their quality, or in regard of their number; in the former, there could be no doubt or difficulty what should be done; their deliberation in the latter was more hard. And, therefore, inasmuch as they did resolve to remove only such things of that kind as the church might best spare, retaining the residue; their whole counsel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindness of those times, or from negligence, or from desire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion, that such things might be tolerated for awhile; or if it did proceed (as they which would seem most favourable, are content to think it possible) from a purpose, "partly[a] the easilier to draw papists unto the gospel (by keeping so many orders still the same with theirs), and partly to redeem peace thereby, the breach whereof they might fear would ensue upon more thorough alteration;" or howsoever it came to pass, the thing they did is judged evil. But such is the lot of all that deal in public affairs, whether of church or commonwealth, that which men list to surmise of their doings, be it good or ill, they must beforehand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore, to let go private surmises, whereby the thing in itself is not made either better or worse; if just and allowable reasons might lead them to do as they did, then are all these censures frustrate. Touching ceremonies, harmless therefore in themselves, and hurtful only in respect of number, was it amiss to decree, that those things which were least needful and newliest come, should be the first that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of saints' days, and of other the like customs, it appeareth they did, till afterward the Form of Common Prayer being perfected, articles of sound religion and discipline agreed upon, catechisms framed for the needful instruction of youth, churches purged of things that indeed were burdensome to the people, or to the simple offensive and scandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we stand? Or was it amiss, that having this way eased the church, as they thought of superfluity, they went on till they had plucked up even those things also which had taken a great deal stronger and deeper root, those things, which to abrogate without constraint of manifest harm thereby

[a] It may well be, their purpose was by that temper of popish ceremonies with the gospel, partly the easilier to draw the papists to the gospel, &c. partly to redeem peace thereby. T. C. l. ii. p. 29.

arising, had been to alter unnecessarily (in their judgments) the ancient-received custom of the whole church, the universal practice of the people of God, and those very decrees of our fathers, which were not only set down by agreement of general councils, but had accordingly been put in ure, and so continued in use till that very time present? True it is, that neither councils nor customs, be they never so ancient and so general, can let the church from taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained. Where things have been instituted, which being convenient and good at the first, do afterward in process of time wax otherwise, we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea, though councils or customs general have received them. And, therefore, it is but a needless kind of opposition which they make, who thus dispute, "If in those things which are not expressed in the Scripture, that is to be observed of the church, which is the custom of the people of God, and decree of our forefathers; then how can these things at any time be varied, which heretofore have been once ordained in such sort? Whereto we say, that things so ordained are to be kept, howbeit not necessarily, any longer than till there grow some urgent cause to ordain the contrary. For there is not any positive law of men, whether it be general or particular, received by formal express consent, as in councils; or by secret approbation, as in custom it cometh to pass; but the same may be taken away if occasion serve: even as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore, are now in like sort generally unkept and abolished every where; notwithstanding till such things be abolished, what exception can there be taken against the judgment of St. Augustine, who saith," that of things harmless, whatsoever there is which the whole church doth observe throughout the world, to argue for any man's immunity from observing the same, it were a point of most insolent madness?" And, surely, odious it must needs have been for one Christian church to abolish that which all had received and held for the space of many ages, and that without any detriment unto religion so manifest and so great, as might in the eyes of impartial men appear sufficient to clear them from all blame of rash and inconsiderate proceeding, if in fervour of zeal they had removed such things. Whereas contrariwise, so reasonable moderation herein used, hath freed us from being deservedly subject unto that bitter kind of obloquy, whereby

T. C. l. iii. p. 30.

August. Epist. 118.

as the church of Rome doth under the colour of love towards those things which be harmless, maintain extremely most hurtful corruptions; so we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards those things that are corrupt, we are on the other side as extreme even against most harmless ordinances; and as they are obstinate to retain that, which no man of any conscience is able well to defend, so we might be reckoned fierce and violent to tear away that, which if our own mouths did condemn, our consciences would storm and repine thereat. The Romans having banished Tarquinius the Proud, and taken a solemn oath that they never would permit any man more to reign, could not herewith content themselves, or think that tyranny was thoroughly extinguished, till they had driven one of their consuls to depart the city, against whom they found not in the world what to object, saving only that his name was Tarquin, and that the commonwealth could not seem to have recovered perfect freedom as long as a man of so dangerous a name was left remaining. For the church of England to have done the like, in casting out papal tyranny and superstition, to have shewed greater willingness of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turk,[a] Christ's professed enemy, than of the most indifferent things which the church of Rome approveth; to have left not so much as the names which the church of Rome doth give unto things innocent; to have rejected whatsoever that church doth make account of, be it never so harmless in itself, and of never so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be used by the church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kind of proceeding might haply have pleased some few men who having begun such a course themselves, must needs be glad to see their example followed by us. But the Almighty which giveth wisdom, and inspireth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto; namely, what tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian world, did for the endless good of his church (as we cannot choose but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restraining hand to stay those eager af-

[a] For indeed it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the papists which are so near. T. C. l. i. p. 131.

fections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate: lest as in other most ample and heretofore most flourishing dominions it hath since fallen out; so likewise, if in ours it had come to pass, that the adverse part being enraged, and betaking itself to such practices as men are commonly wont to embrace when they behold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other end than only the utter oppression and clean extinguishment of one side; by this means Christendom flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort and mutual relief, whereby they are now for the time sustained (and not the least by this our church which they so much impeach) till mutual combustions, bloodsheds, and wastes (because no other inducements will serve), may enforce them through very faintness, after the experience of so endless miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such consultation as may tend to the best re-establishment of the whole church of Jesus Christ. To the singular good whereof, it cannot but serve as a profitable direction, to teach men what is most likely to prove available, when they shall quietly consider the trial that hath been thus long had of both kinds of reformation: as well this moderate kind which the church of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous, which certain churches elsewhere have better liked. In the meanwhile it may be, that suspense of judgment and exercise of charity were safer and seemlier for Christian men, than the hot pursuit of these controversies, wherein they that are more fervent to dispute be not always the most able to determine. But who are on his side, and who against him, our Lord in his good time shall reveal. And sith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themselves be forgotten. When the ruins of the house of God (that house which consisting of religious souls, is most immediately the precious temple of the Holy Ghost) were become not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world so exceeding great, that very superstition began even to feel itself too far grown; the first that with us made way to repair the decays thereof, by beheading superstition, was King Henry the Eighth; the son and successor of which famous king, as we know, was Edward the saint: in whom (for so by the event we may gather) it pleased God righteous and just to

let England see, what a blessing sin and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy. Howbeit, that which the wise man hath said concerning Enoch (whose days were, though many in respect of ours, yet scarce as three to nine in comparison of theirs with whom he lived), the same to that admirable child most worthily may be applied, "Though he departed this world soon, yet fulfilled he much time." But what ensued? that work which the one in such sort had begun, and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been: till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star to arise, and on her head settled the crown: whom himself had kept as a lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times, that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance, might cause her merciful disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others whom the like necessity should press. What in this behalf hath been done towards nations abroad, the parts of Christendom most afflicted can best testify. That which especially concerneth ourselves in the present matter we treat of is, the state of reformed religion, a thing at her coming to the crown, even raised, as it were, by miracle from the dead; a thing which we so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely believed their own senses at the first beholding. Yet being then brought to pass, thus many years it hath continued standing by no other worldly mean, but that one only hand which erected it; that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cause at the first to withhold itself, so neither have the practices, so many, so bloody, following since, been ever able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so justly, that Aaron and Hur, the ecclesiastical and civil states, have sustained the hand which did lift itself to heaven for them; as that heaven itself hath by this hand sustained them, no aid or help having thereunto been ministered for performance of the work of reformation, other than such kind of help or aid as the angel in the prophet Zechariah speaketh of, saying, "Neither by an army, nor strength, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Which grace and favour of Divine assistance, having not in one thing or two shewed itself, nor for some few days or years appeared, but in such sort so long continued, our

manifold sins and transgressions striving to the contrary; what can we less thereupon conclude, than that God would at leastwise by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so strangely, cannot choose but be of him? Wherefore, if any refuse to believe us disputing for the verity of religion established, let them believe God himself thus miraculously working for it, and wish life, even for ever and ever, unto that glorious and sacred instrument whereby he worketh.

END OF VOL. I.

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